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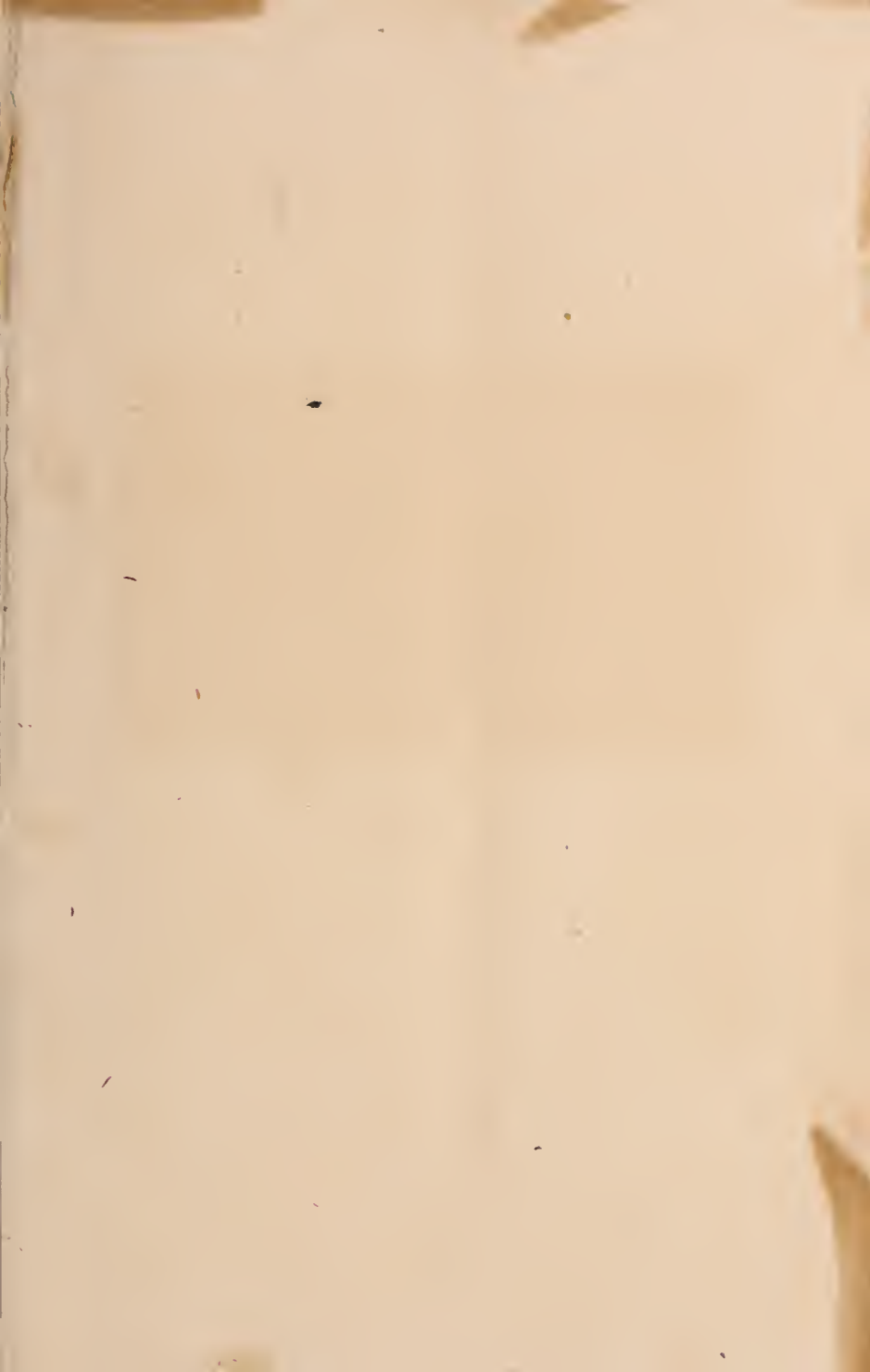
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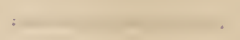
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ART. I. *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεος into the Chinese language.* By W. J. BOONE.
(Concluded from page 618.)

IF, however, the adoption of this proposition is urged on the ground that the Chinese have no word answering to the word *God* when used propriè; I answer, the transfer of *the appellative name of God* does not do away with, but only removes the difficulty one step. Who is this *Aloho*? the Chinese must immediately ask: Is he a man, or a *shin*, or a *Fuh* (Budha); or to what class of beings does he belong? If you answer, He is the only true and living *Shin*, or that he is the *Shángtí* who has been for thousands of years worshiped in the national rites, of what use is the clumsy intervention of this foreign word? These two considerations seem to settle the claims of *Aloho*: it offers us no advantages for teaching the Chinese the knowledge of the true God, and it is wholly useless in attacking their polytheism. Nevertheless, when this word was proposed by Dr. Medhurst and Messrs. Stronach and Milne, Dr. Bridgman and I immediately withdrew all opposition to their obtaining funds from the Bible Societies to make the experiment, which they are now so confident is the true solution of all our difficulties. We did this that we might put an end, if possible, to our sad controversy, and leave the case to a fair experiment of this new expedient. We felt constrained, however, at the time we communicated to the Bible Society the fact of our withdrawal of all opposition to Dr. M. and his friends having funds to print our common version with the transferred term, to suggest our firm conviction that it would never do any good, and that it would be ultimately abandoned. Our

opinions remain unchanged. The determination of the great majority of the missionaries not to accept of a transferred term is already put beyond all doubt; and Dr. Medhurst and Messrs. Stronach and Milne, and the three other signers of the Letter of January, to judge *from their letter*, are just as determined that they *will use* their "unmistakably, incontrovertibly right" term *Aloho*. *Their language* leaves us no room to hope *they* will ever abandon this term, and it is nothing more than due to these three Delegates to say that their's has been the chief labor of making this version of the N. T. It would seem therefore right that they should have funds to print it in a form in which they can use it, unless principle forbid, or it can be shown that the allowing them to do so would injure the Savior's cause. I am far from pleading their cause against the great majority of their brother missionaries who are opposed to a transferred term; but I am satisfied principle does not forbid the patronizing of *two non-antagonistic versions*; and under all the circumstances of the case I should hope that less evil would result from following this course than any other.

The second term we shall bring to our proposed test is *Shángtí*. This term comes forward under the disadvantage of having been abandoned, not only by the three members of the Committee of Delegates abovementioned, but also by the majority of the missionaries who were in the habit of using it previous to the commencement of this controversy. To compensate for this disadvantage, it has gained the able advocacy of Dr. Legge.

Dr. L. is as resolute in favor of *Shángtí* as Dr. M. and his friends are in favor of *Aloho*. Before he reached his present position, he tells us he was led to see "that God was not a generic, but a relative term." That which induced others to abandon *Shángtí*, viz., its not being the generic term for *god* in the Chinese language, has attracted him. *Shángtí*, he confesses is not the absolute appellative name for God in Chinese, and he urges its claims on the ground that it is a mere relative term, and therefore answers to the word *God* which is also a mere relative term. Let us then inquire how the use of this *compound, relative term* will answer in teaching the monotheism of the Bible, and in combating the Chinese polytheism. Dr. Legge asserts "There is only one *Sháng Tí*, Supreme Ruler;" but we may safely say, There is no monotheism taught in this assertion. It is an assertion that might have been made in Greece and Rome, without endangering the existence of a single one of their thirty thousand gods, as it would have only asserted the supremacy of Ζεὺς and Jupiter respectively.

This phrase is compounded of an adjective and an *appellative noun*, and therefore will not convey the idea that the being so called is *wholly sui generis*; but will, on the contrary, only affirm that he is the supreme one, or greatest of the species called by this common appellative, and thus it will not exclude the existence of the others of the species *implied* by the use of the *appellative noun*, but only the existence of two "supreme ones" of said species. Now the monotheism taught in the Bible is, that there is but one God, *i. e.* there is absolutely (if I may so speak) but one of this species: the assertion, therefore, that "There is but one supreme Ruler" will never answer to convey this meaning. It will not prevent the Chinese from recognizing the existence of any number of other *tí*, for it only declares that there is but one "supreme *tí*," and on the subject of their gods, it says not a word.

This phrase *shángtí* labors under the double disadvantage of not answering to the word *god*, whether understood *proprie* or *improprie*; for the being called by the Chinese *Shángtí*, differs in *essential characteristics*, from the being we Christians call God; on the other hand, it is not the appellative name of the Chinese gods, and can not, therefore, be used as the word *Elohim* in the O. T. is, to forbid the reigning polytheism.

But apart from the objections to the phrase *Shángtí*, on the score of its past uses, it is a most unsuitable phrase to be chosen as the basis for making, by our *usus loquendi*, a word in all respects like to our word *God*. Being a compound phrase, the qualifying force of its adjective will resist its conversion into a simple word like the word *God*; being a relative term, it is unfit for many of the uses to which Christians apply the word *God*—*c. g.* to speak of His eternal, necessary, existence &c. Implying office merely, and not nature, it is wholly unsuitable to *express* the doctrine of the Trinity, or that of the *divine nature* of our blessed Savior. And lastly, we insist upon the fact that *Sháng-tí* is the distinctive title of a definite Chinese god, and this god is a false god.* Dr. Legge may affirm that "the *Sháng-tí* of the Chinese people is God over all blessed for ever;" but unless he proves that this *Shángtí* existed from eternity, and that he *made the heavens and the earth*, we must on the contrary declare with the prophet that "the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth,

[* On page 281, we asserted "that *Shángtí* is a proper name;" and also on page 206, remarked that *Shángtí* became a proper name for God as used in the preceding article. This last is called by Dr. Legge in his Letters, the "*proton pseudos* which has led many missionaries astray;" and the first assertion a mere dictum for which no proof is given. We think the proof for both these remarks is amply given by Dr. Boone in these paragraphs.—*Ed Chi. Rep.*]

even *they* shall perish from *the earth*, and from under these heavens :” also with the Psalmist, that “*All the Elohim of the nations are elelim* (vanities, nothings), but Jehovah made the heavens :” and, as it is clear that Shángtí is one of the Elohim of the Chinese, we must insist he is here called by the Psalmist an *elim*, unless Dr. Legge proves he is the very Being who made the heavens. We can not, we dare not, use Shángtí. We can not exhort men to worship him, and we shall only encounter the ridicule of the people, if we call their (*shin*) gods *kiá shángtí*, *i. e.* false supreme rulers.

The third term to be brought to our proposed test is *Shin*. This word being the absolute appellative name of all the Chinese gods, and also the name by which the Chinese pantheists call the life-giving principle that pervades their *το παν*, brings up the whole subject on which we desire to enlighten the Chinese ; all we want therefore is to teach them the true and proper ideas they should connect with this word *Shin*.

To prove that this term will be efficient in condemning the Chinese polytheism, we need only say that all the missionaries, who have attacked this many-headed hydra in China, have used this term for that purpose. On this point, therefore, we need not dwell, but will proceed at once to test the suitability of the word *Shin* for teaching the Chinese the monotheism of the Bible, and we shall endeavor to do this by showing how we can, using *Shin*, remove from the minds of the various errorists we here meet with, the errors into which they have fallen on the subject of Divinity.

Let us first take the Polytheist (or polypneumatist, as it now pleases Dr. Medhurst to call him), and see what the effect would be of setting his views right with respect to the word *shin*. Suppose him a common plebeian or a merchant, and that we were to meet him making offerings to the *Tsái shin*, the god of Wealth ; and that upon asking him why he worshiped this being, he were to answer, “That I may prevail upon him to assist me in getting wealth :” should we not do well to say to him, What you are doing is entirely right, viewed in one respect. You can not, by any exertions of your own, insure the success of your trading ; you do well to rely upon the protection and blessing of a superior being to help you to get wealth ; but you Chinese make a mistake, when you go to seek help from the *shin*. You suppose that there is a *shin* who presides merely over money getting, and you call upon this *Tsái shin*, god of Wealth, that he may help you to grow rich ; for protection from fire, you make offerings to the *Ho shin*, the god of Fire ; for protection at sea, you call on the *Hái shin* ;

and so too, you put every town, every district, under some tutelary *shin*, and to every occupation you give a patron *shin*: the idea running through all this (we might say to him) is right; man is a weak, dependent being; he must look up to, and depend upon a superior; but you are in great error as to the proper *object* to whom you should apply for aid. There is but one Being who can really aid you; in our holy book, He is called Jehovah. He it is who presides over all human affairs: the administration of them is not divided out as you suppose among a number of *shin*; He himself is the alone SHIN. He is the *Shin* of wealth; pray to him to aid you in your business: He is the *Shin* of the sea; call upon him in time of danger: He is the *Shin* of fire; pray to him, &c., &c. In this way we shall avail ourselves of whatever knowledge of *divinity in general* exists in the mind of this individual, at the same time that we turn to good account whatever *devotional feeling* he may have connected with the word *shin*; which is a matter of great importance. The *feeling*, we tell him, is correct; the *object* he calls *shin*: we have no right to complain of his calling it by this or any other *name*; but his conception of the *object*—of this *shin*—is wrong; it must therefore be changed—elevated. Now to do this, to keep the *subject* on which we would enlighten him before his mind, it is surely wise to adhere to his word *shin*, and to predicate of this word the truths we would teach him. We should instruct him to put all his *shin* of wealth, fire, sea, &c., together, as the first process to help him to rise; and then tell him that Jehovah, the true *Shin*, can afford him ten thousand times more protection and blessing than all he ever fancied all his imaginary *shin* put together could afford; that He is in truth the ONLY SHIN, the Self-existent, the Almighty, the Holy Shin, &c., &c.

Let us next take the other great errorist, the Pantheist, and set him right with respect to the meaning of this word *shin*. He too, as we have seen, predicates his errors on the subject of divinity of this word. With him, *shin* is the informing divinity, spirit, or soul, of the primordial substance whose revolutions made the heavens and the earth. Heaven, earth, man, animals, and plants, all share this universal *shin*: it is the living principle of all things. This *shin* is evidently no created spirit, as we regard the human spirit, and all spirits (save God) to be; but a divine power that co-existed with the eternally-existing primary matter. How are we to set this pantheist right? Tell him that in some respects he is right, and has the advantage of his polytheistic countrymen in his views of the great subject, they in common call *Shin*. He has a great advantage of them in the unity with which he

invests his *Shin*. We therefore tell him he is right in conceiving there is but one *Shin*, in making *Shin* the principle of life, and in ascribing to the influence of this *Shin* every pulse that throbs through universal nature; but that he greatly errs in his conception of *Shin*. It is not the name of a mere principle of life—of the soul of the world; but of the Lord of life,—of the Creator of the world, of Jehovah—the only true and living SHIN.

If we teach the Chinese correct views of this single word *shin*, we seal the fate of polytheism, pantheism and *atheism*. One *shin* (call him Spirit or God) hearing prayer in every house in China, knowing all hearts and ruling over all things, causing the grass to grow and the clouds to rain, &c., &c., is one God, is monotheism—the fourth and only other theory on the subject of theism we can think of. *Shin* is the word the Chinese use when speaking of the first: it is the word by which we must teach them the last.

This term is a strong contrast to *Shángtí*, the other native term proposed. It is simple; whereas *Shángtí* is a compound phrase. It is the general name of the Chinese gods; whereas *Shángtí* is the definite title of the chief of said gods. These characteristics—its being the Chinese name of the general subject—an absolute appellative—a simple, un-compounded term—render *shin* exactly the term from which to make, by our *usus loquendi*, a word exactly answering to the word GOD.

It has no qualifying adjective to *restrict* its meaning, and to withstand the formation of the *usus loquendi* we desire to establish. It is not like *Tí*, the name of a relationship, which is common to God and men; but is the absolute name of a being, or class of beings (according to its context), who are possessed of a nature superior to that of men. Being an *absolute appellative noun*, we shall in using it as the name of God, have no difficulties made by the term by which we designate Him, when we speak of his self-existence from eternity: meaning *nature* and not *office*, it will well *express* that wherein the Oneness of the Three Persons consists, and the Divine nature of the blessed Savior. It is the general name of the false gods here worshiped, and is therefore the term to be used for negating the existence of all these false gods—the first thing that is necessary to be done to clear the way for the truth.

Shin, we admit, is not by its previous *usus loquendi*, the name of the Being whom we adore: unhappily the Chinese have no knowledge of this Being; but they have some knowledge of the general subject of Divinity; they have thought and written much on this subject, and

with the gods (though not with God) they have had most extensive dealings; and there can be no doubt, we think, that they call this subject *Shin*, and that they have worshiped these gods under this name. If therefore we succeed in teaching the Chinese around us correct views of Divinity in connection with this word *Shin*, we may rest assured that monotheism will spread. This word is in every one's mouth. Thousands are constantly making clay *shin*, wooden *shin*, paper *shin*: tens of thousands of others are manufacturing incense, candles, imitation sycee, &c., &c., for the worship of these *shin*. Let it then go forth that we solemnly assert, what it now so shocks Dr. Medhurst that we "should stand up before God and man," and assert,* what he himself has asserted thousands of times, that "there is in truth only one *Shin*;" and let a few thousand Chinese, in any given city, sincerely believe this, and then what a stir we shall have!

The word *Shin*—the native name of this subject—brings the doctrine taught by us home to every man's daily thoughts, practice, and occupation. The native Christian, as taught by us, asserts that "there is only one *Shin*;" his polytheistic fellow-countryman laughs him to scorn; he can show him thousands of *Shin* in the very city in which they both live. "Aye; but the holy apostle Paul says they be no *Shin* that are made with hands: I can show you the very place in the holy Book." How, if when he turns to Acts xix. 26, instead of *Shin*, he finds *Aloho* or *Shángtí*? And if with a view to bring the matter home to some Chinese Demetrius, our native Christian would be justified in telling him, "the *Alohos* St. Paul was there speaking of were just such *shin* as you are now making;" if, I say, he would be justified in making such an assertion, why can not *we* now so write it down in the Acts, that the Apostle may speak out plainly for himself to all who read the sacred Book?

May the great Author of all truth lead us all to see the truth of the matter that is now controverted among us, and enable us so to use the proper Chinese appellative of Himself, that his "NAME may speedily be known" to this great nation, and all their false gods and idols be put far away from them! And to HIM, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we will ascribe all the glory, both now and for ever. Amen.

* See Proper mode of translating Ruach, page 20.

Appendix.

(Note A. referred to on page 573.)

SINCE the part of my Defense in which I discuss the question whether God is a relative or absolute term was sent to press, Dr. Legge has published a series of letters, in which he has written at much length on this point. I trust the reader will therefore pardon my calling his attention to this subject again in a note. I shall only comment on three points in the Doctor's letters.

1st. "Some people seem to apprehend a lurking heresy in the opinion that *Elohim*, with the words by which it is rendered in Greek and English, is a relative term; whereas the difficulty is to find critics and scholars of any note, who have not in substance at least maintained the same thing." And on a lower part of the same page, "I do not believe that a single writer of eminence can be brought forward to controvert my position that *Elohim* is a relative term," &c.

2d. The Doctor's attempt to express the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, regarding the word *God* all the while as a mere relative term which does not express anything about essence or nature.

3d. "The view of *Elohim* as a relative term exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity in its *scriptural simplicity*, and establishes the Divinity of Christ on its *proper evidence*."

On the first of these points, we beg the reader to notice that the Westminster Divines and Melancthon (no mean names I should suppose in Dr. Legge's eyes), are so far from regarding the word with Dr. L. as a mere relative term that "does not indicate the essence," but expresses only the *relationship* that Jehovah sustains to his creatures, that neither of them take any notice of this relationship at all in their definitions of the word (quoted at p. 415 above); but on the contrary say, "God is a Spiritual Being, or essence, possessed of various essential and eternal attributes." Howe also, one of the most eminent of the Nonconformist divines, in his "Living Temple," in like manner gives a definition of the word *God*, to preface an elaborate argument to prove the existence of the Deity, without making any mention of the relationships which He sustains to his creatures. His words are so much to the point that I shall give them at some length:—

"And first for the existence of God; that we may regularly and with evidence make it out to ourselves, *that he is, or doth exist, &c.* it is requisite that we first settle a true *notion* of him in our minds; or be at agreement with ourselves, what it is that we mean, or would have to be signified by the *name* of God, otherwise we know not what we seek, nor when we have found him. And though we must beforehand professedly avow, that we take him to be such a one as we can never comprehend in our thoughts, that this knowledge is too excellent for us, or he is more excellent than that we can perfectly know him; yet it will be sufficient to guide us in our search after his existence, if we can give such a description, or assign such certain *characters* of his being, as will severally or together distinguish him from all things else. For then we shall be able to call him by his own *name*, and say, this is God: whatever his being may contain more, or whatsoever other properties may belong to it, beyond what we can yet compass in our present thoughts of him. And such an account we shall have of what we are inquiring after, if we have the conception in our

minds of an *eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary Being*, that hath active power, life, wisdom, goodness, and whatsoever other supposable excellency in highest perfection originally *in and of itself*. Such a being we would with common consent express by the *name God*."

Here we see Howe too, in this definition, takes no notice of the *various relationships* which Jehovah sustains to his creatures, and which the word *God*, being the absolute appellative name of Him is used in the sacred Scriptures to designate sometimes the one, and sometimes another. He makes no mention of these relations, because he justly regards them as not necessary to a proper definition of this word, it being the name of the eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary Being, who was God before any of these relations subsisted. These relations may or may not be mentioned in a definition of the word *God*, but I have never seen a definition of the word, in which the *nature* of the Being designated was not mentioned; and doubt if such a one can be quoted from any good writer.

Voltaire, in giving Newton's view as quoted by Dr. L. in his Letters, p. 27, is careful to state these essential attributes, and that before he makes mention of any of these relations; his words are, "Newton was deeply persuaded of the existence of a God, and he understood by that *word* not only a *Being, Infinite, Almighty, Eternal*, and the *Creator*, but a Master, who has established relations between Himself and his creatures;" (observe, not was constituted God by this relationship, but being God, himself established this relation;) "for," adds Newton, "without this relation, the knowledge of a God is nothing but a barren idea." Here I would again observe that Newton does not say that this infinite, eternal Being, without this relation would not be God, but rather clearly implies the contrary, stating only that a knowledge of this relation is necessary to our welfare.

According to the common consent of mankind, the word *God*, whether understood *proprie* or *improprie*, is an absolute term, and not the mere exponent of a relationship as Dr. Legge contends it is. St. Paul speaks of those who were "by nature no gods." Cicero wrote "*De NATURA DEORUM*;" would he have used the word "*natura*," if writing *De — Imperatorum*? In every Christian work on theology we take up, we shall find something said "of the *nature* and attributes of God." Hesiod has given us a *Theogony*, or generation of the gods; and it is just as plain that he regards the gods throughout this poem, as a genus—a race of beings, as that he regards men in this light. He constantly couples the names of the two races together. Love is "Sire of gods and men." "They (the Fates) of men and gods the *crimes* pursue."

They are expressly spoken of as a race,

"The Muses (he says) bade me praise
The blessed *race* of ever living gods."

"They send forth
Their undecaying voice, and in their songs,
Proclaim before all themes the *race* of gods,
From the beginning."

“And the Earth
And the huge Ocean, and the sable Night,
And all the sacred *race* of deities
Existing ever.”

“The lovely *race*
Of goddess Nereides, rose to light ;” &c.

Elton's Remains of Hesiod.

Dr. Legge's doctrine is that the words “*Elohim* and $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ of themselves tell us *nothing* of the *nature* of the Being, or Beings which they represent,” and that Shángti, “Supreme Ruler,” tallies exactly with these words.

How would it accord with the picture drawn of the Olympian deities by Homer and the other Greek poets, to regard them as a mere assembly of rulers? All rulers, or rather *all* Shángti, *Supreme Rulers!!!* If such was “the assembly of the gods,” what becomes of the sovereignty of Ζεύς? The Goddesses, what are we to make of them? Are they “Supreme Ruleresses?”

Dr. Legge lays much stress on the etymology of the word *Elohim*; but etymology is a very uncertain guide to the character and meaning of words. Every work on logic is full of warnings against our being misled by sophistries derived from this source. It is wholly conjectural, and there is no other field perhaps in which learned men have so indulged their fancies. If a serious doubt once arises, there is no means of setting it at rest; the most that can be contended for is that my *conjecture* is more *probable* than your's. And even where the etymology is manifest, it is of comparatively little service, as it is the subsequent *use* which determines the character and meaning of a word much more than its root. In this case, from Dr. L.'s own showing, there is so much diversity of opinion among the learned, the only safe inference to be derived from their conflicting opinions is, that no satisfactory conclusion on this point can ever be arrived at, none certainly which one can afford to make the basis of an argument.

But suppose Dr. L.'s view to be conceded—that the radical idea is power, I can not see how this will show that the word is a mere relative term; *power* being one of the *essential, eternal* attributes of God, as this word denotes an intrinsic perfection, not an *outward relation* like that expressed by the words *dominion, ruler, &c.* Fuerst's view of the word *El*, given by Dr. L. (Letters, p. 20), shows how compatible such a derivation is with our regarding the word *God* as an absolute term. He says, “*Robustus, powerful, brave. It is used (b) for God, on account of his very powerful and excelling nature*” (not because of his sustaining any *relationship*), “and with the article *ha-El*, the Omnipotent, who is over all things, as in the phrase *el-Elohim* (God of gods), that is, superior to all false and feigned gods in his *strength* and *power*,” (not a being sustaining a superior relationship, or having a more exalted office, but of a more excelling nature, of “*strength* irresistible, and *power* infinite.”)

The Omnipotent, the powerful One, the Almighty, the Omniscient, &c., are very different to the words *Ruler, King, &c.*; and if Dr. L. can succeed in establishing the etymologies for which he contends, it will afford him no aid

in proving that we must render *Elohim* by a term that is the mere exponent of a relationship. Power is an *essential* attribute of the Deity, possessed from eternity before the worlds were made; Shángti, "Supreme Ruler," can derive no aid from their etymology.

Dr. L. quotes Calvin as agreeing with him in the character of this word, and seems to have persuaded himself that even Athanasius uses the term *God* just as a relative term; and his conclusion is, that there are not three beings, *who sustain the relation of God*, but only one; not three spirits who are each a God, but one Spirit (observe not one God), Jehovah namely, in whose essence there yet exist, "by a natural and eternal necessity, three intelligent and active subjects, who are made known to us as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." I have not the works of Athanasius, and never read them; I can not therefore say whether Dr. Legge represents him correctly, when he thus speaks of him as regarding the word *God* as a relative term, and the Persons of the Blessed Trinity as sustaining "the *relation of God*." I content myself therefore with merely calling the attention of the learned in Europe and America, who are taking an interest in this controversy, to his statement, who no doubt can vindicate this noble defender of the orthodox faith from the views here erroneously ascribed to him by Dr. Legge.

Some of Calvin's works I have at hand, from which it is very plain that Dr. Legge is mistaken if he supposes that Calvin agrees with him in regarding the word *God* as a mere relative term. The proof of this I will present below.

I shall next offer a few remarks on Dr. Legge's attempt to *express* the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, using the Athanasian formula, and regarding the word *God* as a mere relative term, which does not express anything about essence or nature. According to Dr. L., that which constitutes the Supreme Being God, is not the possession of a Divine nature, but the sustaining of a given relationship.

I am most happy to find that Dr. Legge, however, makes the unity of the Godhead to consist in oneness of substance, and not in unity of office or dignity; as from his words, "the view of *Elohim* as a relative term exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity in its *scriptural simplicity*," his defining a relative term as the name "of a *dignity or office* common to many individuals," and his views generally on the character of the word *God*, I had feared he did, and as I believe, all have done, who have regarded this word as Dr. L. does, as a *mere relative* term. On this subject Dr. Legge is happily very explicit. He says, "the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; does it not seem then that there are three Gods? It seems so, yet the Father, Son, and Spirit are 'one in substance;' so that there are not three Gods, but one God." Dr. Legge then gives a statement of his views which shows that one can regard the word God as a mere relative term that does not indicate essence, and yet believe that the three Persons of the sacred Trinity are of the same divine nature or substance; but he has not *shown us* how this orthodox doctrine is expressed in the formula he has quoted, if the word *God* tells us nothing of the nature of the Being represented.

When we say in the Athanasian Creed, "the Father is God," we mean by it, as Waterland says, that He is possessed of "all perfection," that He is possessed of the "Divine nature;" by which phrase we understand "the sum of the Divine perfections;" we mean that all the essential attributes, necessary existence, eternity, omnipresence, omniscience, &c., &c., are predicable of the Father. Next, when we say "the Son is God," we mean that he is possessed of "all perfection," possesses the same Divine nature, has the same essential attributes, &c.; and so of the Holy Spirit. And lastly, when we say, "they are not three Gods but one God," we affirm that there is only one Being possessed of this divine nature, having these essential attributes; that, to use the words of the Athanasian Creed, "the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one."*

There can be no doubt the same thing is meant when we affirm in the words of this Creed, "they are not three Gods, but one God," as when it is said just above "the Godhead is all one." Godhead (from *God* and *hade*, state) means simply the state or condition of being God: hence, this word is defined by Johnson and Webster as, "Godship; deity, divinity, divine nature or essence." If *God* meant *ruler*, the noun formed from it would mean the state or condition of being ruler; if no nature is indicated by the word *God*, but only a relationship, the words *Godhead*, *divinity*, &c., would only mean the state or condition of being or standing in that relationship to others: they would not "indicate essence or nature."

I can not here refrain from adverting to Dr. L.'s very remarkable views of the Divine nature, *i. e.* that in which it consists.

He says, Letters, p. 56, "Dr. Boone believes that the idea of a Divine nature lies in the word *God*. Now the nature of God is spiritual; 'God is a Spirit,' was the account given by God himself manifest in the flesh. *The peculiarity* by which God, as he is revealed to us in the Scriptures, is distinguished from all other spiritual Beings as to nature, is, that in his infinite and incomprehensible spiritual essence there exists a Trinity of hypostases, or, as we term them in English, Persons. *This is the only divine nature*. And the idea does not lie in the word *God*." Following up this very peculiar notion of what is meant by "the divine nature," his *reductio ad absurdum* is, that, if the word *God* indicates nature, then none but Trinitarians have any idea of God. When enumerating the peculiarities that distinguish God from all other spiri-

* To show that this method of viewing the word *God* as expressing "the Divine nature" is not peculiar to the Athanasian Creed, and to the writers of the Church of England, I will here append Knapp's statement of the doctrine of the Trinity: See Art. 4. §33, 2. "The doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead includes the three following particulars (*vide Morus*, p. 69, § 13): viz., (a) There is only one God—one divine nature; § 16, (b) but in this divine nature, there is the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as three (called *subjects*, *persons*, and other names of similar import in the language of the schools); and (c) these three have equally and in common with one another, the nature and perfections of supreme Divinity.—This is the simple doctrine of the Trinity, when stripped of refined and learned distinctions. According to this doctrine, there are in the Divine nature THREE inseparably connected with one another, possessing equal glory, but making unitedly only ONE God."

tual beings, Dr. L. might have mentioned that He is necessarily existent; whereas the existence of all other spiritual beings is contingent and dependent upon Him: that He is almighty, while they are of a weak and feeble nature; that He is omniscient, omnipresent, &c., &c. Knapp explains this matter very clearly in his 3d Article "On the NATURE and Attributes of God." His words are, "The *nature* of God is the sum of all the Divine perfections; the *attributes* of God are the particular distinct perfections or realities, which are predicable of the Divine nature (*predicata Dei necessaria ob essentialitatem eius tribuenda*, *Morus*, p. 58, not. 1). The Divine attributes do not therefore differ *materialiter* from the Divine nature, but only *formaliter* (*i. e.* the difference between nature and attribute is not *objective*, or does not appertain to God himself; but is *subjective*, *formal*, or as the older theologians say, *secundum nostrum concipiendi modum*). The attributes of God are merely our notions of the particular distinctions, which taken together compose the Divine nature. We are unable to take in the whole object at a single glance, and are compelled, in order to accommodate the weakness of our understanding, to consider it in separate portions." *Art. 3d*, § 18.

We must here carefully distinguish between the sense of the word "attribute," as applied to the essential attributes of God, and the logical use of this word, as the opposite of "substance," *i. e.* "a predicate which may be present or absent, the essence of the species remaining the same." See this point illustrated by St. Augustin, *De Civ. Dei*, XI. 10. "Propter hoc itaque natura dicitur simplex, cui non sit aliquid habere, quod vel possit amittere, vel aliud sit habens, aliud quod habet," &c. This reasoning Hagenbach declares identical with the proposition of Schleiermacher, "that in that which is absolute the subject and the predicate are one and the same thing." Which agree exactly with the views of the Divine nature and attributes presented in the quotation from Knapp. But to return to our argument.

There is another point which clearly manifests the sense in which the word *God* is used in the Athanasian Creed and other Christian formulæ, in connection with the Trinity: I refer to the two natures of Christ. To express the *divine nature*, the words *God* and *Godhead* are used indifferently, just as the words *man* and *manhood* are used to express the *human nature*: thus in the Second Art. of the Church of England, "the Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and *eternal God*, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: *so that* two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the *Godhead* and *manhood*, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very *God* and very *man*." The words are too clearly defined here to allow of mistake; "very *God* and very *man*" express the two natures called above the *Godhead* and *manhood*.

The Westminster Divines use language almost identical; they say, "so that two whole perfect and distinct natures, the *Godhead* and the *manhood*, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion. Which person is very *God* and very *man*, yet one Christ."

Confession of Helvetia. "And John saith, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word.' Therefore the Son is co-equal and consubstantial with the Father, as touching his *divinity*; true *God*, not by name only, or by adoption, or by special favor, but in *substance* and *nature*." It would be tedious to quote the other Confessions drawn up by the Reformers in the 16th century. It will be sufficient to say they all agree in stating that Christ was possessed of two perfect natures, the Divine and the human, and that *therefore* he is very God and very man.

The words of all the Confessions on this subject are remarkably similar, being all derived from the decision of the Council of Chalcedon. The exposition of faith put forth by this Council was designed to guard against both Eutychian and Nestorian errors. After recognizing the Nicene and Constantinopolitan creeds, they say, "Following, therefore, these holy Fathers, we unitedly declare, that one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be acknowledged as being perfect in his Godhead (*θεοτης*), and perfect in his humanity (*ανθρωποσησι*); truly God (*θεον αληθως*) and truly man (*ανθρωπον αληθως*)." The Athanasian Creed uses the word *God* in like manner to express the divine nature of the Person Christ; "the Son of God is God and man, *God* of the *substance* of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and *man* of the *substance* of his mother, born in the world; perfect God and perfect man; equal to the Father as touching his Godhead; and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood. Who although he be God and man; yet he is not two, but one Christ." Whatever Dr. Legge may persuade himself as to the agreement of his views with those of Athanasius, it seems to me that if he will give this Creed, that bears his name, only a cursory glance, he can not contend that "the term *God*" is used therein "just as a relative term, and that its conclusion is that there are not three beings who sustain the *relation of God*, but only one." On the contrary, he must acknowledge that *it teaches* that the three Persons sustain not a common relationship to their creatures, but are of the same nature—of one substance.

It is a favorite idea of Dr. L. that they who contend that God is an absolute term, "confound the being of Jehovah with the name God." His own view is, "He whom we call God, existed from everlasting, *but not as God*. It was *in consequence of the act of creation*, that He began to sustain the *relation* which is signified by *that term*?" And he thinks that no scholars or critics can be found who disagree with this view. In the Athanasian Creed above cited, we read that "the Son of God is God and man; *God* of the *substance* of his Father, *begotten before the worlds*." According to this, Christ is declared to be God, not because of his having a common *dominion* or *office* with the Father, but to be "*God* of the *substance* of the Father;" not to have begun to sustain "the relationship called *God*" when he created all things, but to have been God before the worlds were made. Dr. Legge may declare that the word *God* is used incorrectly in this Creed, and in all the other Creeds and Confessions from which I have quoted, but if he will carefully examine these documents, I am persuaded he will not contend that the word *God* is used in them as a mere relative term; or that he can *express* the doctrine which they

teach, with respect to *that wherein* the oneness of the three Persons consist; or the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, by the use of the word *God*, as they teach it, using this word, if the word *God* "of itself" tells us nothing of the nature of the Being represented." This was my objection to the use of the word *Ti*, Ruler (and the objection holds good, no matter by what adjective it may be qualified), not that those, who use this term as the rendering of the word *God*, can not hold the orthodox doctrine on the subject of the Trinity; but that they can not *express* it by the use of the *relative term* *Ti*, Ruler. God and man, very God and very man, Godhead and manhood, can not be expressed by the words Ruler and man, very Ruler and very man, Rulership and manhood; and the addition of the *adjective* "supreme" will make no difference in the character of the *noun*. I will here mention that my Chinese teacher, when I was making a version of the Communion Service, and the sentence "our Savior Christ, both God and man," was under consideration; upon being asked How it would answer to render "both *Ti* and man?" without my ever having said one word to him on the subject, objected to it on the ground that the word *Ti* did not refer to nature; and there was no antithesis between the words *ti* ruler, and *jin*, man, for many men had been *ti*.

The character of the word *God* in the documents I have quoted is too clear to admit of any controversy, but Dr. Legge, seeing that their views can not be made to agree with his, may contend that this *word* was alike misunderstood by the early Councils and the Protestant Reformers; let us therefore turn to the inspired writers from whom the early Fathers and the Protestant Reformers derived their views. The first verse of the Gospel of John is a locus classicus for determining the character of the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, The same was in the beginning with God." The word *God* being here the predicate of the sentence "the Word was God," this sentence affords us an admirable opportunity of testing the point at issue between Dr. L. and myself.

If Dr. Legge is correct in his position, that the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is a mere relative term, then the Evangelist here asserts that the Word "in the beginning" sustained a certain office, dignity, or relationship *because of which* he is called God; on the contrary, if I am correct, by the word *God* he here affirms that the Word, "in the beginning" was possessed of "the Divine nature," "of the sum of the Divine perfections."

The apostle asserts two facts: 1st, that "in the beginning" the Word "was with God;" 2d, that at that same time "the Word was God." If then, by the phrase "in the beginning," we understand from eternity, before the world was made, the whole question as between Dr. L. and myself is settled: for *first*, we have a Being called God, with whom the Word was "in the beginning," that is before there were any creatures: this Being therefore could not have been "constituted God by the act of creation;" *second*, we are told "the Word was God," existed "as God," "in the beginning," *i. e.* from eternity. Unless then Dr. L. denies that the phrase "in the beginning" has the meaning we have attached to it, he must admit the incorrectness of his theory that

“it was in consequence of the act of creation that He whom we call God, began to sustain the relation which is signified by that term.”

With respect to the meaning of *εν αρχη*, Knapp says, “’Ο λογος existed *εν αρχη*, viz. *κοσμου* (*Bereshith*, Gen. i. 1. *i. e. ab eterno*). Did he exist before the creation of the world he must be God; for before the creation nothing but God himself existed.” Art. 4. § 37.

—*Pearson*. “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.’ Where ‘in the beginning’ must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it can not be denied unto the second. Therefore ‘in the beginning, or ever the earth was, the Word was God,’ (Prov. viii. 23.) the same God with whom he was. For we can not conceive that the Apostle should speak of one kind of God in the second, and of another in the third proposition; in the second of a God eternal and independent; in the third of a made and depending God.”

Waterland. “The Word is here (John i. 1.) said to have been God in the beginning, that is *before the creation*; from whence it is further probable that he is God in the strict and proper sense. This circumstance may at least be sufficient to convince you that the relative sense which you contend for is not applicable. He could have no relation to the creatures before they were made; no *dominion* over them when they were not; and therefore could not be God in the sense of *dominion* or office.” Vol. 1. p. 316.

Kuinoel. “Initio rerum, ante mundum conditum extitit Logos. *Εν αρχη scil. του κοσμου*.respondit Heb. *Bereshith*, Gen. i. 1. quem locum Johannes respexit;” &c.

Tholuck. *Εν αρχη*, the same as *bereshith*, in the beginning, and means when the world commenced, and time with it—then, *already* the Word was.”

I will pause longer on this point, as there will probably be no difference of opinion among those who take an interest in this controversy with respect to the meaning of *εν αρχη*, but will proceed to cite some authorities to show that the word *God*, in the sentence “the Word was God,” predicates that the Word was possessed of the Divine nature; and this because Dr. L. expresses the belief “that not a *single* writer of eminence can be brought forward to controvert his position that *God* is a relative term.” I will commence my quotations with Calvin, as Dr. L. has quoted him to sustain his views. Commenting on this sentence in the 1st verse of John’s Gospel, he says, “That there may be no remaining doubt as to Christ’s *Divine essence*, the Evangelist distinctly asserts that he *is God*. Arius showed prodigious wickedness when, to avoid being compelled to acknowledge the eternal Divinity of Christ, he prattled about I know not what imaginary Deity; but for our part, when we are informed that the Speech was God, what right have we any longer to call in question his *eternal essence*?”—*Calvin in loc.*

“For as the *names* of God, which have respect to external work began to be ascribed to him from the existence of the work (as when he is called the Creator of heaven and earth), so piety does not recognize or admit any name which might indicate that a change had taken place in God himself. Nothing

therefore is more intolerable than to fancy a beginning to that Word, which was *always God*, and afterwards was the Creator of the world." *Christian Institutes*, Book I. Ch. 13. § 8.

"Theodoret disputeth with great earnestness that God can not be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christ's *Divine nature* against Apollonarius, which held even Deity itself passible. Cyril on the other side against Nestorius as much contendeth, that whosoever will deny *very God* to have suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which notwithstanding to hold were heresy, if the name of God in this assertion did not import as it doth the person of Christ, who being verily God suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that *substance* for which the *name* of God is given him." *Hooker*, Book V. Ch. liii. § 4.

"In N: T. clarius adhuc Deus vocatur (Io. i. 1.) *Sermo erat Deus*, quod de Deo secundario et factitio, ratione *muneris* intelligi nequit ut vellent *Adversarii*, sed de vero Deo ratione *naturæ*; quia non dicit ἐγένετο, ut v. 14. quando loquitur de incarnatione, quod prius notasset; sed ἦν erat ad ejus *existentiam æternam* designandam. Deinde *eo modo debet esse Deus, quo potuit esse in principio ante rerum omnium creationem*, v. 1. tanquam ejus author, v. 3, hic autem nemini nisi Deo summo competit." *Turretin*, Vol. I. p. 312.

"The Father is called God, so is the Son, John i. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* With God as to his person, God himself as to his *essence*." *Bishop Beveridge's Works*," Vol. VII. p. 83.

"No epithet or attribute is more proper to God, than that αἰώνιος Θεός, *God eternal*. Hence is our Lord said by St. Paul, before he did assume the form of a servant, and became like unto men, to have *subsisted in the form of God, not deeming it robbery to be equal to God* (or to have a subsistence in duration and perfection equal to God); so that as he was after his incarnation truly man, partaker of human nature, affections, and properties; so before it he was *truly God, partaking the Divine essence and attributes*. Thence he is often in the Scriptures absolutely and directly named God; God in the most proper and most high sense: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*, saith St. John in the beginning of his Gospel (the place where he is most likely to speak with the least ambiguity or darkness); the same Word, which was in time *made flesh and dwelt among us*, did *before all time exist with God, and was God*." *Barrow's Works*, Vol. II. p. 281.

"Præterea vero et illud est in promptu, eandem notionem subesse vocabulo Θεοῦ in hac enunciatione, quam in proxime antecedente et sequente, atque adeo Servatorem eodem sensu, et dici et esse Θεόν, ac Θεός is dicitur, apud quem fuit, eique DIVINITATEM et tribui hoc loco et tribuendam esse, non aliam et diversam ab ea, quæ summi Dei est, sed plane eandem." *Tittman, Comment in loc.*

Doddridge paraphrases the sentence as follows: "The Word was God himself, *i. e.* possessed a *nature* truly and properly Divine."

Whitby, "And the Word was God. He was, so say the Socinians, by *office*, not by *nature*, as being the Legate and Ambassador of God;" and then contests this point at much length.

Scott. "And what can we understand by this testimony, 'the Word was God,' but that he was possessed of the same *Divine nature and perfections* with the Father?"

Henry. "The Word was with God. (1) In respect of essence and substance; for the Word was God, a distinct Person or substance (subsistence?), for he was with God; and yet the same in substance, for he *was* God."

Poole. "The Word was God; this speaks of the oneness and sameness of his *essence* with that of the Father. The term *God*, which in the foregoing words is to be taken Personally for God the Father, is here to be taken *essentially*, as it signifieth the Divine Being."

Burkitt. "Learn hence, 3d, his *Divine essence*. The Word was God. Here St. John declares the *Divinity*, as he did before the eternity of our blessed Savior. The Word was God, say the Socinians, that is a god by *office*, not by *nature*, as being God's ambassador."

Tholuck. "By Θεός the Evangelist wished to designate that *Divine essence* in which the Son was equal to the Father."

Erasmus, "— dicere vult; Verbum particeps erat *Divinæ essentia*."

In the former part of this pamphlet, I have shown that the ancient Councils and the Protestant Reformers of the 16th century agree in regarding the word *God* as the absolute name of Jchovah, indicating his essence. In addition to this I show that Tertullian, Pearson, Waterland, Usher, Stillingfleet, Bloomfield, Stuart, Hodge, and Tholuck, agree in this view; to these I have now added the name of almost every Commentator whose works are within my reach. I can not fancy in what quarter Dr. L. has pushed his inquiries to assert, as he has done, his firm conviction, that not "a single writer of eminence can be brought forward to controvert his position that *Elohim* is a relative term."

But to all this, Dr. Legge replies, "I have carefully counted the number of times in which *Elohim* is used in the O. T. The word is used in all 2,555 times. . . . With relative force apparent, 1,476 times; with the definite article, 357 times; and simply (*i. e.* standing absolutely), as in the first verse of Genesis, 722 times."

Before Dr. Legge expects us to lay any stress upon these numbers, he should have shown that the absolute name of a Being, or the absolute appellative name of a class of beings, can not be used "with relative force apparent," as the word *Elohim* is in the O. T.; or else his numbers all go for nothing. In some languages, the phrases "*my man*" and "*my woman*" are used to designate the relationship of husband and wife (or, as it is commonly said in English, man and wife), and yet no one would question the fact that the word *man* in these languages was an absolute, appellative noun. If the question was raised, to what class of beings does this individual belong, it would bring out an answer that would at once settle the point. *Ans.* "He is a man." Here the word *man*, being the predicate of the sentence, tells us of what nature the being in question is; as we saw above the word *God* declares in the 1st verse of St. John's Gospel, and in the sentences, "Very God and very man," &c.

Take another instance: Suppose a lady called her husband, or her son, "my Charles;" and that upon reading a memoir of her, we should find that the phrase, "*my Charles*," occurred 1476 times, whereas the word *Charles* stood absolutely only 722 times: what would be thought of the inference that this word "Charles" was a mere relative term, which signified husband or son, the reader being left in doubt which was the definite relation indicated, as Dr. L. is with respect to the relation designated by the word *God*. Those who consider the word *God* as an absolute appellative noun, find no difficulty at all in accounting for the use of the word *God* in these 1476 cases, where Dr. L. says it "is used with relative force apparent;" for the Being whose absolute name it is, stands in many relationships to us, *several* of which relationships (it is worthy of remark) and not *one* only, this word is used to designate.

In a preceding part of this paper, I endeavored to show from this fact that the word *God* can not be a mere relative term:—*e. g.* we can say "God is the Creator; God is the Supreme Ruler; God is our Preserver; &c., predicating every relationship which the Supreme Being sustains to us, of the word *God*, without any sense of tautology or impropriety. Could we do this if the word *God* were not the absolute name of the Being designated, but a mere title expressing any *one* of these relationships. If this was the character of the word, should we not have tautology when we predicated that relationship of the word: *e. g.* of the relationship designated by that of Creator to creatures, as Dr. L. says it is on *p.* 5 of his Argument, to say that God is our Creator is equivalent to saying "the Creator is our Creator:" the same if the relationship designated is that of "Supreme Ruler," or any other whatsoever, there would be a tautology if we predicated *this* relationship of the word *God*. Now as we have no such difficulty in predicating each and every of the relationships, in which we stand to the Supreme Being, of the word *God*, this word can not be a mere relative term—the mere exponent of any given one of these relationships.

But that which Dr. L. fancies will reduce the advocates of the absolute character of the word *God* to a complete dilemma, is the 245 instances in which the word "is applied away from him," *e. i.* Jehovah. He says, if "Θεός; and Elohim express ANYTHING of the Divine nature, how is it that they are applied, away from Jehovah, to angels, judges, and to Moses? When Jehovah says to Moses, 'I will make thee a God to Pharaoh,' he promised what he actually did. But did he make Moses from being a man to become actually of the nature of God? Did he convert the unity of his human existence into a trinity of Divine existences? I dare not pursue the subject farther to its impious consequences."

It is to be hoped that Dr. L. succeeded in filling his own mind with due horror at the impious consequences that must follow from regarding the word *God* as an absolute term, but I very much doubt if a single reader has shared these feelings with him. If, when Dr. L. declares, that, "when Jehovah says to Moses, 'I will make thee a God to Pharaoh,' he promised what he did," he means to assert that the word *God* is used *proprie*, and not metaphorically,

and that we are to understand from the sentence above quoted, that God promised to make Moses really and truly a God, the consequences are quite as serious on Dr. L.'s theory as on my own. He says the correlatives are "God and creatures;" the Supreme Being is "constituted God by the act of creation;" "God is a relative term expressing a relation of which the *one party* could only be the Supreme Being." Now then, did Jehovah make Moses and Pharaoh to stand to each other in the relation of Creator and creature? By what act of creation was Moses constituted God? If the *party* sustaining the relationship called God "could only be the Supreme Being," was Moses changed into this Being? These absurdities are inevitable if the word *God* is here to be understood *propiè*; but if we admit that it is used metaphorically, then the fact that Moses is called a God presents no difficulty to our regarding this word as an absolute term; for I have above given instances of the absolute nouns "*man*" and "*woman*," to express the relation of husband and wife; and these words are also used by way of metaphor to express the qualities which distinguish men and women: *e. g.* when we exhort a boy to "be a man," or call a man "an old woman;" and yet no one would contend that because of this usage the words "*man*" and "*woman*" have ceased to be absolute appellative nouns.

If Dr. L. had paused a moment to reflect upon the character of the absurdity with which he wished to press his adversaries, he must, it seems to me, have seen that, if the word was to be understood *propiè*, the difficulty was equally great on either supposition; and that, if used metaphorically, the difficulty was at an end for both.

This point, viz. that the name *God* is a mere relative term, on which Dr. L. relies, and which he admits is essential to the success of Shángti, was much relied on, to sustain their views, by Dr. Clarke and his fellow Arians, who, in the early part of the 18th century disturbed the peace of the English Church, and brought on the most able discussion with respect to our Lord's Divinity that has been held in the English language. To show the similarity of Dr. Legge's views to those of these writers, and at the same time to give a conclusive answer to them from one of our most sound and learned Divines, I will quote a few paragraphs from Waterland's Works.

"Dr. Clarke would indeed persuade us, that the proper Scripture notion of *God* is *dominion*; and that therefore any person having dominion, is, according to the Scripture notion, truly and properly God. This shall be examined; but it will be convenient here to set down the Doctor's own words. 'The word θεός, *God*, has in Scripture, and in all books of morality and religion, a relative signification; and not, as in metaphysical books, an absolute one: as is evident from the relative terms, which in moral writings may always be joined with it. For instance, in the same manner as we say, *my* Father, *my* King, and the like; so it is proper also to say *my* God, the *God of Israel*, the *God of the universe*, and the like: which words are expressive of dominion and government. But in the metaphysical way, it can not be said, 'my infinite substance,' the 'infinite substance of *Israel*,' or the like. He repeats the observation (*p.* 290); and is very positive that the word *God* in Scripture is always a relative word of office, giving the same pretty reason for it as before. This shall be carefully considered, and the manner of speaking accounted for in the sequel.

"I shall only observe here, by the way, that the word *star* is a relative word, for the same reason with that which the Doctor gives for the other. For, the

'star of your God Remphan' (Acts vii, 43.) is a proper expression: but in the metaphysical way, it can not be said, the 'luminous substance of your God Remphan.' So again, *water* is a relative word; for it is proper to say, the *water of Israel*: but, in the metaphysical way, it can not be said, the fluid substance of *Israel*; the expression is improper.* By parity of reason, we may make relative words almost as many as we please. But to proceed: I maintain that *dominion* is not the full import of the word *God* in Scripture; that it is but a part of the idea, and a small part too; and that if any person be called *God*, merely on account of *dominion*, he is called so by way of figure and resemblance only; and is not properly *God*, according to the Scripture notion of it. We may call any one a *king*, who lives free and independent, subject to no man's will. He is a king so far, or in some respects: though in many other respects nothing like one; and therefore not properly a king. If by the same figure of speech, by way of allusion or resemblance, anything be called *God*, because resembling *God* in one or more particulars, we are not to conclude that it is properly and truly *God*.

"To enlarge somewhat further upon this head, and to illustrate the case by a few instances. Part of the idea that goes along with the word *God* is, that his habitation is sublime, and 'his dwelling not with flesh.' Dan ii. 11. This part of the idea is applicable to angels or to saints, and therefore they may thus far be reputed *God*: and are sometimes so styled in Scripture, or ecclesiastical writings. Another part of the *complete idea* of *God* is giving orders from above, and publishing commands from Heaven. This was in some sense applicable to Moses; who is therefore called 'a *God* unto Pharaoh:' not as being properly *God*, but instead of *God* in that instance, or that resembling circumstance. In the same respect, every prophet or apostle, or even minister of a parish, might be figuratively called *God*. *Dominion* goes along with the idea of *God*, or is part of it; and therefore kings, princes and magistrates, resembling *God* in that respect, may, by a like figure of speech, be styled *Gods*: not properly; for then we might as properly say, *God* David, *God* Solomon, or *God* Jeroboam, as *King* David, &c.; but by way of allusion, and in regard to some imperfect resemblance which they bear to *God* in some particular respects; and that is all. It belongs to *God* to receive worship, and sacrifice, and homage. Now, because the heathen idols so far resembled *God*, as to be made objects of worship, &c., therefore they also, by the same figure of speech, are by the Scripture denominated *Gods*, though at the same time they are declared, in a proper sense, to be no *Gods*. The belly is called the *God* of the luxurious (Phil. iii. 19.), because some are as much devoted to the service of their bellies, as others are to the service of *God*; and because their lusts have got the *dominion* over them. This way of speaking is in like manner grounded on some imperfect resemblance, and is easily understood. The prince of the devils is supposed, by most interpreters, to be called the '*God* of this world,' 2 Cor. iv. 4. If so, the reason may be, either because the men of this world are entirely devoted to his service, or that he has got power and dominion over them.

"Thus we see how the word *God*, according to the popular way of speaking, has been applied to angels, or to men, or to things inanimate and insensible; because some *part* of the idea belonging to *God* has been conceived to belong to them also. To argue from hence that any of them is properly *God*, is making the whole of a part; reasoning fallaciously, *a dicto secundum quid*, as the schools speak, *ad dictum simpliciter*. If we inquire carefully into the Scripture notion of the word, we shall find, that neither *dominion* singly, nor all the other instances of resemblance, make up the idea, or are sufficient to denominate anything properly *God*. When the prince of Tyre pretended to be *God* (Ezek. xxviii. 2), he thought of something more than mere *dominion* to make him

* It is very obvious to perceive where the impropriety of such expressions lies. The word *substance*, according to the common use of language, when used in the singular number, is supposed to be intrinsic to the thing spoken of, whose substance it is; and indeed to be the thing it-self. *My substance* is *myself*: and the *substance of Israel* is *Israel*. And hence it comes to be improper to join substance with the relative terms, understanding of it something extrinsic.

so; he thought of strength invincible, and power irresistible: and God was pleased to convince him of his folly and vanity, not by telling him how scanty his *dominion* was, or how low his *office*; but how weak, frail, and perishing his *nature* was; that he was man only, and 'not God,' ver 2, 9, and should surely find so by the event. When the Lycaonians, upon the sight of a miracle wrought by St. Paul (Acts xiv, 11), took him and Barnabas for gods, they did not think so much of *dominion*, as of power and ability beyond human: and when the apostles answered them, they did not tell them that their dominion was only human, or that their office was not Divine, but that they had not a Divine nature; they were weak, frail, and feeble men, of like infirmities with the rest of their species, and therefore no *Gods*.

If we trace the Scripture notion of one who is truly and properly God, we shall find it made up of these several ideas; infinite wisdom, power invincible, all-sufficiency, and the like. These are the *ground* and *foundation* of *dominion*, which is but a secondary notion, a consequence of the power: and it must be supreme dominion, and none else, which will suit with the Scripture notion of God. It is not that of a governor, a ruler, a protector, a lord, or the like; but a sovereign Ruler, an almighty Protector, an omniscient and omnipresent Governor, an eternal, immutable, all-sufficient Creator, Preserver, and Protector. Whatever falls short of this is not properly, in the Scripture notion, *God*; but is only called so by way of figure; as has before been explained. Now, if you ask me why the relative terms may properly be applied to the word *God*, the reason is plain; because there is something relative in the whole idea of God; namely, the notion of Governor, Protector, &c. If you ask why they can not be so properly applied to the word *God* in the metaphysical sense, beside the reason before given, there is another as plain; because metaphysics take in only part of the idea, consider the *nature* abstracted from the *relation*, leaving the relative part out." Waterland's Works, Vol. I. p. 33—35.

The word *God*, as I intimated in the first part of this Essay, does not stand for a single idea, but for an assemblage of ideas, some of which relate to the nature of the Being so called, and some to the relations he sustains. When used metaphorically, any one of these may form the basis of the metaphor; if, however, we desire to give a full definition of the word when used *proprie*, we should mention both classes; those which refer to nature (such as necessary existence, wisdom, power, &c., &c.), being however "the ground or foundation" of the relative, the mention of them is indispensable in all definitions of the word, as I have observed above; the mention of the relative is not indispensable as we have seen, because we may contemplate God as existing from eternity, before there were any beings to stand in any relation to him.

Dr. Legge, when he insists that *God* is a mere relative term, which tells us nothing of the nature of the Being indicated, discards the whole class of fundamental ideas, and gives us a word which can not be used to *express* the doctrine of the Trinity as the word *God* is used in the Creeds of the Catholic Church; which can not be used as the word *God* is in the documents I have quoted, to teach the Divine nature of Christ; in short, a word which differs from the Θεός used in St. John's Gospel, and by orthodox Christian writers from the beginning. He must therefore be wrong in his view of the word.

This note has already extended to great length, but I must say a word to Dr. L.'s statement that we can not with the word *Shin* express the doctrine of the Trinity. He asks, "Does the word *God* standing absolutely, without definitive of any kind, denote a Being who is possessed of a Divine nature; or the Being who sustains the relation of supreme dominion? If the former

be taken, the Athanasian formula is equivalent to 'The Father is A Being who possesses a Divine nature, the Son is A Being who possesses a Divine nature, &c.'"

It is difficult to persuade oneself that Dr. L. is serious in all this. To his question, however, I will answer that the word *God* denotes the Being who is possessed of the only true Divine nature that exists, which Being sustains to his creatures the relationship of Supreme Ruler, and many others also.

If the word *God*, as used in this formula, is an absolute term denoting nature; then, as Dr. L. admits that *shin* denotes nature and *ti* does not, the inference is that the word *shin* is a suitable one to express the Trinity, and that *ti* and its compounds are not. But Dr. L. insists that if we attempt to state the doctrine of the Trinity in Chinese, by the use of this word, it will be "the Father is a Shin," &c., &c. In answer to this, we have only to inform the English reader that the Chinese has no article, and that the phrase 父乃神, may without any violation of Chinese grammar be explained to mean the Father is the one only true and living *Shin*, to remove all apprehension from his mind on this score; and as we, who advocate the use of *Shin*, are monotheists, the reader may rest assured that we will tell the Chinese that although they have heretofore supposed "that there were *shin* (gods) many, and *chú* (lords) many, that to us there is but one *Shin*;"—"that the Father is this *Shin*, the Son is this *Shin*, and the Holy Ghost is this *Shin*," and that there is yet, as we said above, "to us, but one *Shin*."

Dr. Legge must know that there is nothing easier than for us to say this in Chinese, and if he believes that the unity of the Godhead consists in a oneness of nature, I should be glad to know why the fact that the word *Shin* is an *absolute appellative* noun, unfits it to express the "Scriptural doctrine" of the Trinity. If he regards the Divinity of the Savior as "a mere relative divinity," and is prepared to stand to his position that "the view of Elohim as a *relative term*, exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity*, and establishes the Divinity of Christ upon its *proper evidence*," then I can easily understand why he should maintain that we can not with *Shin* (an absolute term) express the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity*:" but if he regards the Divinity of the Savior as absolute, if he regards him as "the very and *eternal God*," as "very God and very man;" if he believes, as he tells us on p. 57 of his Letters, "that the Father, Son, and Spirit are 'one in substance,' SO that there are not three Gods but *one God*;" then I can not understand what difficulty he can possibly see in the way of his expressing the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity* by the use of an *absolute appellative noun*.

I should be glad to see Dr. L. reconcile his views above quoted, viz., that "the Father, Son and Spirit are 'one in substance,' SO that there are not three Gods, but *one God*," with the opinion that we must use a mere relative term which does not indicate *essence* or *nature* to express the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity*. I should like him also to point out what difficulty there can be in expressing that wherein the oneness of the Trinity consists by the use of a term signifying *nature*, if that oneness consists in *nature*. If

his answer is that the difficulty consists not in the absolute character of the word *shin*, but in the fact of its being an *appellative* noun, this militates directly against his position that a relative term alone can express this doctrine in its *Scriptural simplicity*; besides he has told us that relative nouns, as well as absolute, are appellative; which being the case, we should be glad to know why an *absolute appellative* must give place to a *relative appellative* in our teaching the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity?

If to this Dr. L. replies, "Some relative terms are similarly construed," *i. e.* either with or without the article; that is the reason why we must have a relative appellative: our answer is, In Chinese there is no article; in this respect there is no difference between *Shángti* and *Shin*; and in English, his favorite phrase and the word *God*, tried by this test, can not be reconciled: he can not with "grammatical propriety" say, "Supreme Ruler made the world." *Argument*, p. 4.

(Note B., referred to on page 600.)

While we are engaged with this author, I will call attention to some very remarkable temples mentioned by him. He says, "In China, at the time of the former Fived ynasties (A.D. 907—959), there was a temple to 'Hien Shin,' or 'Yáu Shin,' and another to 'the Fire, Hien or Yáu Shin.' During the Táng dynasty (A.D. 620—904), there were religious books from Persia. The fourth year of *Tien-pau* (A.D. 745), the Emperor commanded the two Persian monasteries to be changed into *Ta-tsin* (Romish) monasteries (Nestorian?). We have also a Tablet giving an account of the spread of the *King kiáu* (Illustrious religion) in China, written by *King Tsing* in the second year of *Kien-chung* (A.D. 781). Now to explain the character *Hien*, or *Yáu* 祆, it is from *shi* 示 and from *t'ien* 天, and is the god (*Shin*) of Heaven, whose religion arose in Palestine;* which originally was on the eastern borders of the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*).† That which is called the "Foreign *Yáu*," is the "*Yáu Shin*," which is the same as the *Shin* of heaven,‡ and belongs to the Roman empire as I suppose,§ and is the origin of the religion of Jesus. With respect to the religion of the God of Fire (*Ho Shin* 火神) it came from Persia, and has no connection with the Roman Empire (*Ta-tsin*); should we

* *Fuh-lin*, *i. e.* Judea. Moses first established this country: Jesus was a descendant of his.

† *Ta-tsin* is the country of Rome in Italy or Roman empire. The Chinese observing that the men thereof in height and size were very like themselves, called it *Ta-tsin*, but the natives themselves did not call it by this name.

‡ "The character *Yáu* 祆 (or *Hien*, as others read) was originally made by the Chinese men; the people of the west have not a common mode of writing with Chinese men; how then came they by this character?" His astonishment seems to arise from this Chinese character's being given on the Temple as the name of the foreign God.

§ Palestine, from the time of the *Hán* dynasty, began to serve Rome; but from the time of the *Tung* dynasty it was captured by the Arabians.

say that it (the religion of the god of Fire) was the same with the 'Ho Yáu,' this would be to confound the god of Fire with the God of Heaven: to say that the religion of the Persians comes from the Roman Empire (*Ta-tsin*) is like the erroneous derivation of my family from one of another surname. The Tablet about "the (*King kiáu*) Illustrious Religion" (*i. e.* that described on the Syrian Monument) is still more erroneous. The *King kiáu* is the religion of the fire worshipers: in the Tablet it is said, 'a bright star proclaimed the happy event;' 'he suspended the bright sun in order to break open the abodes of darkness; at mid-day he ascended to heaven:' all which refers to the sun's fire. It being also said in the Tablet, 'he determined in the form of the cross to establish the four quarters;' and, 'once in seven days they have service,' implicates it with the *Tien-chú kiáu* (Romish religion). When it speaks of the three-one, mysterious bodied, uncreated, true Lord *Aloho*, I do not know what man (何人) is referred to. And the composition of the whole piece is in the exaggerated style of the dregs of the Budhists: it (*the King kiáu*) is not the religion of Fire; it is not that of Heaven (*i. e.* the Nestorian); it is not that of Budha: we are entirely at a loss to know by what name to call this religion; for the Persians sacrificing to the god of Fire was an ancient custom that originated among themselves, and the religion of Budha prevailed in India, its (Persia's) eastern neighbor. The religion of the God of Heaven prevailed in the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*) its western neighbor. From the time of the Táng dynasty, the *Tien-chú kiáu* of the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*) flourished more extensively, and a clever foreign priest (*King Tsing*, the writer of the Tablet it is to be supposed) united the three religions, and made out of them one, to which he gave the name of *King kiáu*, "Illustrious religion" (or he may mean to insinuate that the priest meant it should be understood as the religion of *King 景*, this being his own name), in order to exalt himself. In China the origin was not known, the people therefore followed his story and honored and believed in it, exactly according to what Chung Li says, 'You only like to hear what is strange.'

It is also said in the Tablet, that in the twelfth year of Ching-kwáu (A.D. 639), Olopun, a man of great virtue, of the Roman Empire (*Ta-tsin*), has brought sacred books and images from afar, and presented them at our capital. This *Olotuk* (misprint, I presume for *Olopun*) coming from the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*) was no doubt of the *Tien-chú kiáu* (Romish religion); and his sacred books were the Holy Books and Gospels that have been transmitted to us from Europe: the images were those of Jesus on the cross; but we do not hear that, at that time, they had those images. With respect to that which is called *King kiáu*, its depending upon (being derived from?) the religion of the Persian god of Fire, and having its images, dresses, decorations, &c., from the Budhists—this is what I can not explain.

"From the time of the Táng dynasty, the Budhist religion has flourished: the temples of the Foreign Yáu and of the Fire Yáu, and the religion of Persia and of *Ta-tsin*, have all not been again seen. According to western writers, in the northern country of Africa, called Abyssinia, the *Ta-tsin* "Ro-

man," (perhaps Nestorian) religion still exists; it still is also the name of the religion of the Persian fire-god."

The three temples abovementioned are objects of great interest to us, and I trust we shall be able to learn from what source His Excellency obtained his information, and thus get access to a fuller account of them.

The character 祆 is explained as the name of a foreign god, *sc.* 胡神 in the following Dictionaries:—

說文通釋。篆字彙。正字通。韻府萃音。韻府約編。

It is read by all *Hien*: the 正字通 alone reading it also *Yáu*. If our author is correct in saying that this *Shin* was the same as the *Shin* who gave the law at Mount Sinai, then I think there can be but little doubt the character should be read *Yáu*, as the Being designated by the builders must in that case have been ΙΑΩ, *i. e.* Jehovah; for the Nestorians could not have built a temple to any false god.

I have translated *Tù-tsin* throughout "Roman empire," as the author so explains it himself. It may mean (though I doubt it) Judea, in the Syrian Monument, but this author does not so understand it. He can make nothing of the Monument at all, as the reader will perceive. Because in the Tablet it is said, "a bright star proclaimed the happy event," and that, "Persians, seeing its brightness, came with presents," he concludes the people mentioned were Parsees, or worshipers of fire.

ART. II. *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine, pendant les Années 1844, 1845, et 1846. Par M. Huc, prêtre missionnaire de la Congrégation de St.-Lazare. 2 tomes. Paris, 1850.*

[THE arrival of MM. Huc and Gabet in Canton, in Sep. 1846, from Tibet is noticed in Vol. XV, page 526 (though the former is there called Evariste), and the hope is expressed that the public may be favored with some account of their journey. This has at length been done, in two volumes, under the title given above. An account of the commencement and course of M. Huc's journey is given on pp. 617-624 of the last volume of the Repository, in an extract from a letter written by himself in the "Annals de la Foi;" in the absence of a fuller notice, and not having the volumes themselves, we have inserted the following article from the number of Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, for September, 1850. In doing so, we have inserted the Chinese characters for some of the towns on the route, and added a few topographical notes, which are put in brackets.—*Ed. Ch. Rep.*]

THE French mission at Peking, which flourished under the first emperors of the Tartar-Manchú dynasty, was broken up and almost totally dispersed, by the frequent persecutions of Kíáking, who ascended the throne in 1799. The missionaries themselves were either put to death or driven out of the empire, while the converts hastened beyond the Great Wall, to search for peace and tranquillity in the deserts of Mongolia, where the Mongols permitted them to cultivate, here and there, small tracts of land.

After the lapse of some time, the missionaries succeeded in gathering together the scattered members of their flock, and took up their abode with them in the "Grass-lands" (*tsáu-ti* 草地); and in 1842, the Pope nominated an apostolic vicar to all Mongolia, whose residence was at Si-wan,* a Chinese village north of the Great Wall, and one day's journey from Siuen-hwá fú 宣化府. In the year 1844, two missionaries, Messrs. Huc and Gabet, were commissioned by the said vicar of Mongolia to explore, and, if possible, to determine the extent and limits of the vicariat! And it is to a journey undertaken with such strange objects in view, that we are indebted for one of the most remarkable narratives of travel in "Tartary, Tibet, and China," that has appeared since of the days the "Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses," or of more modern and authentic narratives. But while we have, in the pages of Huc, the merits of a Du Halde, a Barrow, a De Guignes, and a Turner, with, in some respects, advantages over all his predecessors; whether it is that so much is really marvelous in those remote and central lands, or that such isolation and remoteness beget a superstitious love of the strange and the wonderful, it is impossible to peruse the narrative of this last wanderer in Tartary and Tibet, and not be reminded of those incredible statements which were so much criticised in Renaudot's translation from the Arabic, till confirmed by Marco Polo; or to see revived before us that which has been deemed romance and exaggeration in Mendez Pinto, Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, and Athanasius Kircher, and for recording which even Du Halde has been taxed with credulity. It is, however, extremely difficult to separate the true from the exaggerated, and the romantic from the hyperbolic, in what relates to China. A knowledge of Eastern manners and habits—of the subserviency and pliability of the missionary character, not in all, but in the generality of cases—and

[* Siuenhwá fú is the chief town of the department of the same name, lying within the Wall. Si wan is in the inferior department, or circuit of Kaupeh tau, which includes a vast region inhabited by Mongolian shepherds, who settle on the *tsáu-ti*, or grass-lands found in the Desert.]

of the ready duplicity and presumptuous vanity of Orientals, will best assist the reader in eliminating the real from the unreal, and the graphic from the too-highly colored.

The history of the Roman Catholic missions in China is, it may be here observed, a very remarkable one. The labors of the first members of the Society of Jesus in these countries were recorded in letters, written to the father-general of the Inquisition, published at Rome as early as in 1586, and again in 1591. In 1601, Luis Guzman published, at Alcalá, the "Historia de las Misiones," &c. In the same year a Dutch history of the missions was published at Dillingen; and a French account appeared at Lille in 1617, and at Paris the same year. This latter work, by Father Ricci, was one of the best of its time; but the Jesuit was true to his calling: when ordered to make a general geographical map of the world for the emperor, he contrived to place China in the centre.

Numerous works continued to make their appearance, recording the labors or special travels of the Jesuits during the seventeenth century. Among the most remarkable of these was the now rare and valuable work of Navarrete, "Tratado Histórico, Politico, y Moral de la China," published at Madrid in 1676. The author being sent to Rome, to remonstrate for the Chinese missionaries against their customary mode of conversion, they induced the Inquisition to suppress the second volume, and to prohibit the third from going to the press. The works of Father Lecomte, "Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat présent de la Chine," published in Paris in 1696; and that of Father Le Gobien; "Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine en faveur de la Religion Chrétienne, et un Eclaircissement sur les Honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux Morts," published in Paris in 1698, were far too liberal and comprehensive for the age in which they appeared, and were burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris. It is quite evident, that in the latter part of the seventeenth century the Chinese were in advance in toleration over those who pretended to preach to them. The works of Fathers Gobien and Lecomte were reprinted in 1701-2, and were the foundation of Du Halde's great work. The most valuable work published by the Jesuits on China, "Mémoires concernant l'Histoire," &c., in sixteen volumes, did not appear till 1775, and following years.

Tibet and Central Asia are still almost *terra incognita*. Modern geographers and philologists, as De Guignes, D'Anville, Malte-Brun, Rémusat, and Klaproth, are all at variance as to where Karakorum, the capital of the vaunted but imaginary Prester John, and of his conqueror,

the mighty Ghengis Khan, is situated; and few have lived to tell the tale of their visit to Il'lassa, "the Land of Spirits," the Mone-Duh, or "Eternal Sanctuary," of the Mongols. We have a so-called journey of an Englishman, in the suite of the Dalai or Tala Lama, printed in the *Minerva* for the year 1792; and an account of the beginning and present states of the mission to Tibet was published at Rome in 1742. Mr. Turner published his well-known account of his embassy to the court of the Grand Lama in 1800—without comparison the most valuable work that has yet appeared on Tibet; but still so little is known, that Bell, in his valuable "System of Geography," appeals to his readers upon the impossibility of giving anything beyond a very general account of a country so little known, and so inaccurately represented in the very best of modern maps.

The last journey of the Lazarist missionaries, who have in our times succeeded to the Jesuits, was more successful than any of its predecessor. Starting from a small Christian establishment, situate in a remote district beyond the Great Wall of China, it assumed to itself the extravagant and ambitious objects of determining the unexplored limits of a nominal Mongolian vicar-generalship; and it records in a style which, as before remarked, more than reminds one of the works of the Jesuits of old, the experience, the observations, and the occurrences of actual times. This is truly the romance of olden travel and olden pilgrimages, revived for the especial amusement of a generation greedy of novelty and adventure.

Far away as the Lazarist settlement may be, it does not appear to be altogether destitute; for previous to the departure of the mission, camels had to be sent for, the property of the mission, but at that time pasturing amidst the Mongol tribe (or kingdom, as M. Huc calls it, from the chief of the tribe being designated as *wáng*, or king) of Naiman 奈曼. The missionaries awaited the camels at the pass called Pia-lia Kau, in the territory of the tribe Ouniot 翁牛特. This is a country, according to M. Huc, once inhabited by the Coreans, and amidst which ruins of great cities, and of castles, resembling those of the middle ages, are still to be met with. It is a very stormy district; and the reverend father declares that he saw hailstones weighing twelve pounds! Such storms destroy a whole flock of sheep in a few moments. In 1843, a piece of ice is said to have fallen as large as a millstone. The first day's journey introduces us to a Tartar hostelry, which, to avoid repetition, had better be described at once:—

A Tartar inn comprises an immense square space, inclosed by long poles interlaced with wicker-work. In the midst of the square is a mud hut, never more than ten feet high. With the exception of one or two miserable chambers to the

right and left, the interior is one vast *appartement*, which serves at once as a kitchen, a refectory, and a dormitory. When travelers arrive, they repair at once to the *appartement*, essentially dirty, stinking, and full of smoke. A long and wide *kang* awaits them. A *kang* is a kind of oven, which occupies three-fourths of the room. It is only about four feet high, and the roof is flat and smooth; a reed matting covers the floor, and upon this rich people spread cloths of felt. Three immense coppers are buried in glazed earth in front of this oven, in which the travelers' food is prepared. The openings by which these coppers are heated are prolonged beneath the *kang*, so that even during the extreme cold of winter the latter is warm. As soon as a traveler arrives, the "intendant of the treasury" invites him to ascend into the *kang*, where he sits down, tailor-fashion, with his legs crosswise, around a great table, the feet of which are not more than five or six inches high. The lower part of the room is reserved for the attendants, who go to and fro, keep up the fire under the boilers, make tea, or oatmeal cakes. The *kang* of these Tartaro-Chinese inns is the most animated and picturesque theatre that can be imagined; it is there that people eat, drink, smoke, play, scream, and fight. When night comes on, the *kang*, which during day-time has served as a restaurant, an estaminet, and a tap, is suddenly transformed into a dormitory. "The inspector of darkness" strikes a few blows on a tam-tam, and the travelers unfold their counterpanes, if they have any; if not, they cover themselves with their clothes, and lie down close to one another. When the hosts are numerous, they are arranged upon two lines, their feet touching one another. But though every one goes to bed, all do not go to sleep; while some snore away in the most conscientious manner, others smoke, drink tea, or indulge in noisy conversation. This fantastic picture, half lit up by the dull flame of a murky lamp, fills the mind with feelings of fear and horror.

The missionaries adopted on their journey the secular dress of Tibetan lamas, or priests, a costume which, if rather theatrical, was certainly well adapted to insure them safety and respect. It consisted of a yellow gown, fastened on one side by five gilt buttons, and to the waist by a long red sash. Over this gown, a red waistcoat, with a little collar of violet-colored velvet, was worn, while a yellow cap, with a red top-knot, completed the fantastic garb. They were accompanied by only one native, a *dchiahour*, as M. Huc writes it; *giaour*, as it is ordinarily written; but more correctly *j'avour* (infidel). This nondescript bore the little euphonious name of Samdad-chiamba. He had run away when a mere boy from a lamazary, or monastery of lamas, and had been converted by the Lazarists to Christianity. They had tents, and also a faithful dog, yecept Arsalan, or the lion, whose duty it was to bark on the approach of strangers. When they encamped at night, after pitching the tent, the first duty was, as with the Arabs, to collect argols, or dry dung, for fuel, or shrub-wood if they could get it, to light a fire, and to prepare a soup of water, *hwamien*, a kind of macaroni, and a lump of salt pork. In the morning, they made tea with oatmeal porridge.

On their way, next day, they met with an *obo*—a cairn, or pile of stones—dedicated by the Tartars to the spirit of the place. The latter make offerings of money, bits of rag tied to branches, &c. When the

Chinese go by, they also bow to the spirit, but take care to appropriate to themselves any offerings of value. These *obos* are to be met with at every mountain pass, and upon most uplands. Traversing the country of Gehekten, which is said to abound in gold and silver mines, M. Huc takes the opportunity to relate, that in these countries there are men who are endowed with the faculty of discovering mines, which will remind the reader of a superstition still existing in our own country; and he adds, that such men sometimes gather around them thousands of followers, who become addicted to all kinds of crimes and excesses.

The first town the mission arrived at was that of Tolon-nor, or, "of the Seven Lakes," called Lama Miäu, or Convent of Lamas, by the Chinese; Nadan Omo, by the Manchus; and Tsot Dun, by the Tibetans. This city of Tolon-nor is described as being immensely populous, and very commercial. Russian merchandise comes there from Kiakta. The Tartars are constantly bringing herds of oxen, camels, and horses; and take back with them tobacco, cloth, and brick tea. "This perpetual afflux of strangers imparts to it a most animated appearance. Pedlers run about the streets offering to passengers different minor objects for sale; merchants invite the passer-by with flattering speeches into their shops; while the lamas, with their gaudy dresses of red and yellow, seek to win admiration by their skill in galloping horses through the narrow streets." The magnificent statues in iron and brass, that come out of the founderies of Tolon-nor, are not only renowned throughout Tartary, but in the most remote districts of Tibet. The missionaries caused a Christ to be cast, after a magnificent bronze model from France, and it was so well done, that it was difficult to distinguish between the model and the copy. Notwithstanding all this prosperity, the streets are narrow and tortuous, and nothing is met with but mud and cloacæ. When the missionaries arrived at Tolon-nor, they were not long in discovering a triangular flag floating before a house. This was the sign of a restaurant:

'We went in, and a long passage led us into a spacious room, in which numerous little tables were arranged with much order and symmetry. We sat down at one of these, and a tea-pot was instantly brought to us. Tea is the necessary prelude to every repast. While occupied in filling ourselves with tea, we received the visit of the "intendant of the table." He is generally a person of refined manners, endowed also with great volubility of speech; he knows every one, and everybody's affairs. He finished his speech however, by asking the order of service, and he repeated the words in a chant to the "governor of the kitchen." Travelers are served with great promptitude; but before beginning to eat, etiquette demands that the traveler should rise and go and invite one after another every one of the guests who may happen to be in the room. "Come, come altogether!" is exclaimed, suiting the gesture to the word; "come and drink a little glass of wine, and eat a little rice." "Thank you, thank you!"

answer those present; "Come rather and sit at our table, it is we who invite you." After this ceremonious proceeding, one's honor has been shown, as they say in the country, and the traveler may take his repast as a man of quality.

Everything is done in the Flowery Land with similar manifestations of politeness. We learn elsewhere that when robbers accost the wayfarer, they do so in the most modest and civil manner possible. "My elder brother," they say, "I am tired of going on foot; do lend me your horse;" or, "I am without money, do be so kind as to lend me your purse. It is very cold to-day, lend me your cloak." If the elder brother is sufficiently charitable to lend all these things, they say to him, "Thank you, brother;" but if not, the humble request is backed by blows of a stick; and if that does not suffice, they have recourse to a sword.

Tolon-nor* is situated in the midst of a pathless country of moving sands, across which the travelers had some trouble in finding their way, and it was with great difficulty that they succeeded in finding a station with water even the first night of their departure. At every station at which the missionaries encamped to make their Tartar tea, they planted a little wooden cross in token of the spiritual claim to the country given to them by the Pope. Tartar tea is made by breaking off a little bit of the bricklike masses in which coarse tea is pressed, pulverizing it, and boiling it till the water becomes red; a handful of salt is then thrown into the kettle, and boiling is carried on till it becomes black; a bowl of milk is then added, and the infusion, which is the delight of all Tartars, is decanted into an urn for use. The conversation between travelers, when they meet in the Desert, is characteristic:—

"Lamas," the Tartar addressed the missionaries, "where is your country?"

"We are from beneath the westward heaven."

"Over what countries have your happy shadows passed?"

"We come from the town of Tolon-nor."

"Has peace accompanied you in your journey?"

* [See Vol. XVIII., page 618. Tolon-nor 多倫諾爾 lies on the southern declivity of the In shán, and is probably the entrepôt of trade of the Soumites and other tribes which come in from the Desert, as well as of the numerous tribes of Inner Mongolia. The region has been erected into a *ting* district, subordinate to the cirenit of Kanpeh, but the whole is under an officer living at Suenhwá. The country around it is inhabited chiefly by Tsakhar Mongols, and the shepherds of the imperial flocks. The ruins of cities found east of this town, mentioned above, are probably those of Chinese towns and not the remains of Corean cities. It is quite erroneous to designate the tribes hereabouts as kingdoms, merely because their chiefs are styled *wing*.]

"Hitherto we have traveled in peace: and you, are you in peace? Which is your country?"

"We are Khalkas from the kingdom of Murgevan."

"Have the rains been abundant; are your flocks and herds prosperous?"

"Everything is in peace in our pasturages."

"Whither is your caravan bound?"

"We are going to prostrate ourselves before the 'Five Towers.'"*

A sudden storm discomfited our travelers at their next station, and but for a Tartar, who brought them a supply of dry argols, they must have gone supperless to bed. This Tartar had marched two years before against the "Rebels of the South," as the Chinese called the English, but, being a Tchakar, had not been in action. His account of the war was truly national. When the enemy appeared, he related, the *kitat*, or militia, was as usual summoned to disperse them; but the enemy were marine monsters, who lived in the water like fish, and when least expected they came to the surface, and threw out fiery pumpkins (*si-kwá*, so they called the shells). So the banners of Solon were put in motion, but they could not stand the heat of the south, and the emperor issued his orders that the Tchakar force should advance. A lama was attached to each troop to protect them from the marine monsters; but when the rebels saw the invincible Tchakars advancing, they became terrified, and sued for peace. The Holy Master, in his unmeasurable clemency, granted it to them, and we returned to our prairies to tend our flocks.

These Tchakars are all soldiers, and they are trooped under eight differently colored banners. They are strictly forbidden to cultivate the land, and they tend as well as their own flocks those of the emperor, which are said to be immensely numerous. The horses alone are said to compose 360 herds of 1200 horses in each. This is about as good a specimen of Tartaro-Chinese exaggeration as was the account of hail as large as millstones. These Tartars live in balloon-shaped huts, and like most pastoral people, are very hospitable. To approach them it requires a stick to keep off the ferocious dogs, but

* The Lamazary of Wátai, or of the Five Towers, in the province of Shán-si, is the most famous place of sepulture of the Mongols. Budha himself is said to dwell in an adjacent mountain. Our readers will remember the story told of the precaution taken by the Rosicrusians to preserve the secret of the perpetual flame; our travelers relate something similar of the tombs of Tartar princes, whose riches, buried with them, are defended from sacrilege by a number of bows which shoot arrows one after another at any one who ventures within the sepulchre.

this must be thrown aside on entering a tent or hut. The females shake hands as well as the men; they make the tea, and the children collect the argols. The men snuff inveterately. They also drink, but rarely, Mongolian wine, which is milk that has been first fermented, and then coarsely distilled. The stench in the interior of these Tartar tents is, however, insupportable, and will sometimes turn a stranger's stomach. It arises from the butter and grease with which their clothes and furniture are impregnated. It is on account of these filthy habits that the Tartars are called by the Chinese, who are not themselves inodorous, the *Tsáu Táh-tsz'*, or stinking Tartars.

On quitting the plains of the hospitable Tchakars, our travelers passed the small town of Chaborta, at the period of the festival called Yueh-ping.* A tribe of Mongols were encamped here, and their cleanliness and hospitality are highly spoken of. But it is to be observed that the missionaries were here, as elsewhere, looked upon, from having adopted the costume of lamas, as learned and holy personages. They were constantly expected to cure diseases, draw horoscopes, tell fortunes, discover lost property, speak the words of wisdom, and shed felicity where their shadows fell. These good Mongols sent their children to the tents of the lamas of the West with continual presents of milk, butter, cheese, and loads of argols.

Three days' journey from Chaborta, our travelers stumbled upon the ruins of a walled city—"an imposing and majestic relic of antiquity," according to their statement, and a memorial of the domination of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Beyond this, they crossed the great road from Peking to Kiakta. The missionaries tell us that the Russian manufactures purchased at this latter great emporium are paid for in brick tea, which is the reason why the Chinese can sell clothes in China itself at a price less than they would fetch in Europe, and which is the reason, also, why English manufactures find little sale at the newly-opened ports of the south. It would be necessary, according to this view of the case, to take tea in exchange for English goods, to enable England to compete with Russia in the Chinese markets.

Crossing the "kingdom" of Afa, our travelers came to the first hills, the acclivities of which were shaded with pines; but the pleasure derived from the change was materially diminished by meeting, at the same time, three very independent-looking wolves. They, however, soon found refuge in the lamazary of Tchortchi, a holy place,

* [This occurs in the first half of the 8th moon, or the latter end of August; the name *yueh-ping* means 'moon cakes,' and small round cakes, highly ornamented, are sent to friends.]

much favored by the emperor, and inhabited by two thousand lamas, or monks. These religious idlers live in good houses, and amidst every comfort. In the centre of the lamazary is the temple of Budha—as usual, an incongruous pile of peristyles, with contorted pillars, steps, and terraces, and a central building, where is throned a gigantic statue of a sitting Budha. Although the Mongolian lamazaries are not so great nor so wealthy as those of Tibet, still some are very considerable; none more so than that of Kurun, in the country of the Khalkas, near the Russian frontier. Thirty thousand lamas are supported at this great temple, around which pilgrims from far-off distances, including the *Yu-pi T'uh-tsz'*, or “Tartars with skins like fish,”* pitch their tents. The Guison Tamba, or Lama-king of Kurun, is a person much distrusted, and looked upon, from his power, with a very jealous eye by the imperial court. As in the case of the Tala Lama of Tibet, the lama of Kurun is supposed, or rather believed, never to die. He only transmigrates to another country, to return younger and fresher than ever. This is also the case with other lamas, and the metempsychosis is always sought for at the great lamazary of H'lassa, in Tibet, nor sought long in vain. Among the more celebrated of these King-lamas, after those of H'lassa and Kurun, are those of Ninigan Lamana Kure, of the Blue City, of Tolon-nor, of Gé-ho Gul; and, within the Great Wall, of Peking and of Wútái hien in Shánsí.

The day after leaving Tchortchi, our travelers were relieved of a haunch of venison, which they had purchased in the morning, by a voracious eagle, which carried it off at the very moment they had taken their places to discuss the delicacy! Passing from the country of the nomadic Mongols to that of the agricultural tribe of Tümet, the missionaries experienced what most other travelers have under similar circumstances—annoyance at the change. “Without knowing it,” says M. Huc, “our tastes had undergone an insensible change, and the Desert of Mongolia had brought us to a temper friendly to peace and solitude. As a consequence, when we again found ourselves amidst cultivated lands, in the midst of the agitations, troubles, and struggles of civilized life, we felt ourselves, as it were, oppressed and suffocated by civilization; air seemed to be wanting, and we felt as if we were about to die asphyxiated.”

*[This designation would be more correct if it read, ‘Tartars with skins of fishes,’ for these nomads from the shores of the Pacific and wilds of Manchuria, dress in garments made from the skins of fishes, principally using, it is said, those of the sturgeon.]

Tumet* is, however, described as a flourishing country, well watered, fertile, with good houses, fine trees, and no poor. In this country is the great city of Kuku-khotu, or Kwei-hwá ching 歸化城 "the Blue City," composed of two parts, at some distance from one another; one the commercial, the other the Manchu Tartar, or military city. In the latter, 10,000 soldiers are quartered under a tsíangkiun, or general of a military division. These troops are all Manchus. The reception given to the missionaries by the Chinese of the commercial city, who mistook them for Tartar lamas, was truly characteristic—overstrained politeness, with no small spice of roguery. Luckily for them, they escaped all the traps laid out to ease them of their money, and succeeded, but not till after many droll adventures, in finding a home at the "Hotel of the Three Perfections, where travelers on horseback or camel are lodged, and all kinds of business transacted, without ever compromising success." Such was the inscription which decorated the gateway in large Chinese characters. As a specimen of Chinese civilization, even in this remote city, the missionaries laid in at this place a stock of furred winter clothing—unredeemed pledges from the *táng-pú*, or pawubrokers, which abound in all Chinese towns. Before leaving the Blue City, we may mention, that it is chiefly celebrated for its lamazaries, which are five great ones, each supporting two thousand monks, and an infinite number of smaller ones, and its camel markets.

When the missionaries quitted the Blue City, they had been already a month on their way to the west. As at Tolon-nor, the streets were so tortuous and narrow, and so beset with carts and horses, pedestrians, and merchandise, that it was only with the greatest possible difficulty that they could extricate themselves from the place. The second day's journey they lost Arsalan. On their way they met with a caravan of Turk merchants, composed of ten thousand camels! They entered Tchagan Kurun, "the White City," by night. No hostelry would open its doors to their sorry caravan. The Chinese detest camels, which frighten their horses, and bear generally poverty-stricken Tartars, only fit to be deceived and robbed. Luckily, the bleating of sheep led them to a Tartar's dwelling, who received them (as lamas) most hospitably. This great and fine city does not find a place on existing maps.† It lies close to the Upper Hwáng Ho, or Yel-

* [The tribe of Tumet occupies a large part of the circuit of Kweist táu in Chihh. The city of Kuku-khotu has two Chinese names, those of Kweihwá ching and Sui-yuen ching; the latter is probably the Manchu city.]

† [This town, according to the position here given to it, is probably that call-

low River, which at this moment had overflowed its banks, and, according to the missionaries, was like a sea, exceeding in width the reach of vision. It need scarcely be added, that it was with extreme difficulty that the passage was effected.

Our missionaries had now been six weeks on their journey without change of dress, and the sufferings that resulted from the colonization of their garments by vermin was so great, that they set about purifying themselves with mercury. Vermin were, throughout, one of the greatest nuisances met with on their journey. It was impossible to sit down for a moment in a Chinese house or a Tartar hut without carrying away a number of these disgusting insects. The lamas do not kill them, but throw them away to a distance. What must be their numbers in the so-called lamazaries?

Beyond the Hwáng Ho our travelers entered upon the sandy steppes of the country of the Ortus. On these plains were many goat-like deer, hares, gray squirrels, and pheasants, all exceedingly tame. Our poor missionaries were saved from perishing, themselves and cattle, during a terrible storm that raged while they were crossing those plains, by the happy discovery of some artificial grottoes. Passing the lamazary of Rach Tchurin, they arrived at the celebrated salt-lake of Dab-sun-nor, which at this season of the year was less a lake than a vast reservoir of effloresced salt. From this point they took a more southerly course, and passing a range of rocky mountains, they once more ferried the Yellow River, and rested for two days at Cha-tui-tse, having exchanged for a time the desert and nomadic life for such Chinese ease and comforts as were to be obtained at the "Hotel of Justice and Mercy" (*Ju-i Ting*). A few miles beyond this town they crossed the Great Wall once more. At their next station, Wang-ho Po, they were far from finding the crowd of itinerant cooks, who filled the streets of Cha-tui-tse, bearing ragouts of beef and mutton, vegetables and pastry. There is a difference in different towns in this respect. Here there were nothing but dealers in corn and hay. Here they also joined a Chinese caravan, bound to Ning-hiá. On their way, they passed through, without stopping, at the third-class town of Ping-lo hien 平羅縣. One of the guard-houses, common to the highways in China, and to which a room for strangers is always attached,

ed Sararchi 薩拉齊 by the Chinese, a ting district in the circuit of Kweist in Chihlí. It lies near the Turkun R., a tributary of the Yellow river, which empties in just where that stream returns south from its long course through the Desert. Du Halde's maps place the town of Chahan at this spot.]

offered them a place of repose. These guard-houses are decorated externally with rude paintings, representing the god of War, fabulous animals, grotesque shields, and all kinds of weapons. Towers used as fire-beacons, and a post recording roads and distances, are also attached to these guard-houses. The approach to Ning-hiá, 寧夏府 with its moss-and-lichen-clad ramparts and numerous pagodas, is described as very imposing; but the interior was poor, the streets, as usual, narrow, tortuous, and dirty.

Beyond, however, was a beautiful road, shaded by willow trees, with every here and there little shops, and this the length of a whole day's journey, where they sold to the numerous passers-by ready-made tea, boiled eggs, beans fried in oil, cakes, and an infinite variety of sweetmeats. At night they found lodgings in the "Hotel of the Five Felicities," in the large and unwall'd village of Hia-ho Po. A mandarin tried to dislodge them from their comfortable quarters, but so sure were the missionaries of their disguise, and of their intimacy with the language, that they refused to inconvenience themselves for the petty tyrant, although, at the very time, had it been known that they were Europeans, they would have been summarily put to death for traveling in the interior.

After two days' journey they arrived at Chungwei 中衛, a prosperous, commercial, and clean city on the Hwáng Ho, the populous banks of which river they quitted at this point to once more cross the Great Wall, and enter into the Tartar province of Alashan, 阿拉善 which is crossed by a range of moving sand hills. The journey across these was one of exceeding difficulty; and it was with no small pleasure that they arrived at night at an oasis in the desert—the station of Cháng-lien-shwui, 長連水 or of the Everflowing Waters! The high charges at the hostelrys here induced the reverend missionaries to record, that at this charming village, as elsewhere, there was always something that came to assist men in detaching themselves from (or rather disgusting them with) things here below. The village of the Everflowing Waters, its beautiful verdure and dear accommodations, was exchanged, next day, for Káu-tan-tse, described as a village "hideous and repulsive beyond expression." Every house was an inn, but accommodation was even dearer than at Cháng-lien shwui. Even water has to be fetched from a distance of sixty lí (eighteen miles). But this was not all: the place was said to be infested with robbers, and the inns were of two classes; those where they undertook to fight the robbers, and those where they did not fight. To preserve their property, the men of peace were obliged to seek refuge

in a house where they undertook to defend the same, at a price quadruple what they would have had to pay elsewhere. The fact appears to be, that this was a village of banished malefactors, who were allowed to live there, upon condition of providing for officers on their journeys, and they made all who were not in authority pay, by robbery or extortion, for what was taken from them by their masters.

The missionaries re-entered China at the gate called that of Sín-yu-tsin 三遇進. They were asked for passports, but got over that difficulty by dint of assurance. Our travelers correct the commonly-received opinion as to the magnitude and strength of the Great Wall of China. In many places they say it is a mere earthen rampart, at others, a few stones loosely piled together. At "the Hotel of the Three Social Relations," to which they repaired at the next city; Chwáng-láng 莊浪, the missionaries were, for the first time, suspected to be Europeans, and worse than that, English spies. They got out of this scrape by asking how marine monsters could be expected to live on the earth and travel on horseback? At the next town, Ho-kiau-í, called, in the maps, 'Tai-hung fu—a name no longer in use, for the Chinese are constantly changing the names of their towns—they stopped for some time at "the Hotel of Temperate Climates," while their *jawur* paid an eight days' visit to the *tú-sz'*, 土司 his countrymen *jawurs*, who dwell in the province of Kánsuh.

On the return of the *jawur*, they crossed the mountain of Ping-ku to Láu-yáh pú 老鴨堡, Old Duck village, where most of the men were engaged in knitting stockings. From Láu-yáh pú, the missionaries traveled in five days to the great, but not well-populated city of Sí-ning fú 西寧府. The road thither was well kept, traversing a fertile cultivated country with trees, hills, and numerous rivulets. At Sí-ning fú, Tartars were not allowed to frequent the public inns. Houses of repose (*sié kiá*, as they were called), were provided for them, where they were supposed to be gratuitously entertained. After crossing the Great Wall upon two more different occasions, our travelers arrived at Tung-kiú-enl, a small, but populous and busy town, full of Tartars, Turks, Eluths, and other strangers, who walked about armed with swords, perpetually quarrelling with one another. Here they were received in a house of repose, it being the fourth month of their journey, and now mid-winter.

The missionaries had to wait at this station for the arrival of a caravan to cross the wild country of Tangut, or Koko-nor; and in the interval they busied themselves with studying the Tibetan language

and Buddhist works under a lama of the name of Sandara, a cousin to Samdad-chiemba. To facilitate still further these objects, and at the recommendation of Sandara, they shortly afterwards took up their quarters at the great lamazary of Kunbun. Hence they removed, after the lapse of three months, to the smaller lamazary of T'chogortan, more particularly devoted to the study of medicine, whence they finally started for the Blue Sea, where they were to await the caravan of a Chinese ambassador going to H'lassa.

The Blue Lake, called by the Mongols Koko-nor, by the Tibetans Tsot-ugon Po, is called by the Chinese T'sing Hái, or "Blue Sea." Such an immense reservoir of salt-water, being upwards of 300 miles in circumference, would appear almost to merit the title of an inland sea. There are no boats on the lake, but there is a lamazary on an island which, it is said, can only be reached in winter when the waters are frozen. The environs of the lake are fertile in pasturage; the grass grows up to the height of a camel's back. M. Huu says he could hear nothing of the Kalmucks, so much spoken of by geographers—the name was only to be found in that of a tribe of Koko-nor, called Kolo-Kalmuki. These Kolos have a bad reputation for predatory habits.*

The Chinese embassy arrived towards the end of October, and was increased in numbers by Mongolian caravans, which took advantage of the same opportunity of going to H'lassa. The caravan was protected by 300 Chinese soldiers on foot, and 200 mounted Tartars. The first days of the journey, says M. Huu, were all poetry—weather magnificent, the road open and good, waters limpid, pasturages rich and abundant. The nights were cold, but they had good skins to wrap themselves up in. After six days' journeying, they crossed the river Puhain Gul, which, being divided into many branches, occupied a territory of a league in width. The waters were frozen over, but not in sufficient strength to bear. Immersion in these icy waters effectually dispelled the poetry of the journey. Five days further on, they came to the river Tulain Gul, where the Chinese escort, who robbed the caravan in reality, while the Kolo bandits appear to have existed only in imagination, quitted them. The 15th of November they passed from the magnificent plains of Koko-nor to the Mongolian district of T'saidam, which was arid and stony, and affords salt and borax by merely digging wells a few feet in depth. In this region is the moun-

* [The Chinese maps place no Kalmuks around the Blue Sea; the tribes of Hoshhoits, Turbeths, and Choros are the principal divisions of the Mongols found in this vast depression.]

tain of Burham-bota,* concerning which the missionaries record the most incredible stories of its being enveloped in noxious gases, especially carbonic acid, so that horses and men can only advance over it a few steps at a time, and are constantly falling down asphyxiated. It is possible that the elevation rising, as the mountain does, out of the high upland of Koko-nor, is sufficiently great to affect the brain and stomach. Mount Juga, which followed, presented equally formidable difficulties in a passage effected amid wind and snow. Our missionaries adopted the more comfortable than dignified alternative of sitting on their horses with their faces to the tail, thus literally backing through the storm. Mount Juga divided Tartary from Tibet, so the Tartar escort left them here, but there were still 2000 armed men belonging to the caravan itself.

Early in December they crossed the Bayan kara, a spur which separates the headwaters of the Hwáng Ho from those flowing to the Kin-sha Kíáng. Beyond this they came to a valley where argols were abundant, and water was to be obtained beneath the ice—the two great luxuries of Tibetan and Tartar travel. Approaching the next day the Muru-ussu 木魯烏蘇, or “Tortuous Water,” one of the head-streams of the Kin-sha Kíáng 金沙江, or “Golden Sand R.” they saw a herd of more than fifty wild buffaloes that had got caught in the ice, and could not extricate themselves. Eagles and crows had torn out their eyes!† This is another heavy demand upon the reader’s good faith. Wild horses were also now seen frequently on the uplands. As they proceeded on their journey the cold kept increasing. It certainly was a trying time of the year to be journeying in the uplands of Tibet. Camels, horses, oxen, and men, all suffered alike. Many animals fell victims to the severity of the weather. One young lama died by the wayside, looking like a figure of wax in the icy air. The caravan began to break up. The oxen could not keep up with the camels and horses, and there were not argols enough at the night stations to support life in the whole caravan. More than forty men were

* [Klaproth (in Timkowski) speaks of some of these mountains as being infected with thick fogs, and producing poisonous herbs; and M. Huc may here refer to this peculiarity. Mt. Burham-bota 巴爾布哈 lies northwest of the sources of the Yellow R.]

† [This incident will not appear incredible (though it is probably unusual even in Koko-nor) to those acquainted with northern regions; on the rivers in North America, ice forms so rapidly at times that small steamboats are unable to force their way through it, and have been known to be frozen in midstream till a thaw liberated them. But M. Huc was now traveling on the parallel of Alexandria in Egypt!]

abandoned in the desert while still alive. This may appear exaggerated, but it is not necessarily so. Life is less regarded in the East than in civilized countries; and in far less severe climates than that of Tibet, a winter journey is often accompanied with a great loss of life.

At the foot of the Tant-la mountains, the fragment of the caravan, consisting in all of eighteen persons, to which the missionaries had attached themselves, on the breaking up of the main body, was visited by the redoubtable Kolos, who, however, committed no depredations. M. Gabet was at this time very ill, and, according to M. Huc, half frozen! The passage of the mountains, which lasted twelve days, and was cheered by a warm sun shining on snow and rock, proved beneficial to him.

Beyond the Tant-la chain the soil gradually lowered to H'lassa, and the snows gave way to a fresh and abundant verdure. The Kolos were also succeeded by hospitable pastoral races. At length they arrived at a large Tibetan village on the Kara-ussu 喀喇烏蘇 or "black water river," of the Mongols.* At this station the missionaries sold their camels, which had suffered severely from the long journey—one having also been accidentally burnt—for six oxen, animals better adapted for the stony districts which still lay between them and H'lassa.

They also changed their company for that of a party of Kartchin Mongols, who were conducting a Chaberon, that is to say, a living Budha, to the "Eternal Sanctuary." This Chaberon was barely eighteen years of age, of a happy, lively disposition, and he seemed to view the character forced upon him as one of extreme unpleasantness. He would much rather have laughed and galloped about at his ease, than have rode in stiff dignity between two grave attendants, who never quitted his side.

As the traveler approaches to within a few days' journey of H'lassa, houses begin to take the place of black tents, and agriculture succeeds to pastoral life. At a place called Pampu, written incorrectly in the maps Panctou, the oxen were exchanged for asses, for there was still a very rugged mountain to cross before arriving at H'lassa; and at length descending on the other side of this rocky chain, they came in sight of the metropolis of the Buddhist world. Great white houses, terminating in platforms, surmounted by towers, numberless temples with golden roofs, and, rising above all, the vast palace of the

* [The R. Kara-ussu is the head stream of the Salween R., which disembogues at Maulmein. Its entire length is probably over 1600 miles.]

Tala-lama, imparted to H'lassa a majestic and imposing appearance. The missionaries arrived at this Tibetan city on the 29th of January, 1846, having been eighteen months on the journey we have briefly, but succinctly recorded; and they were received in a miserable lodging, a single room, with a hole for a chimney, a vessel for burning argols in the centre, a window-frame without glass, and two deer-skins for beds. But our missionaries were poor and uncomplaining; they had greater miseries awaiting them in their attempt to preach the doctrines of Christ in the very heart of the Buddhist superstitions.

H'lassa is not a great town, being barely two leagues in circumference; nor is it inclosed with ramparts. The houses are large, well whitewashed, and the framework painted red or yellow. Inside they are filthily dirty. The suburbs are extensive, and embosomed in beautiful, shady gardens. The houses are constructed of stone or brick, but in the suburbs there are some built of the horns of sheep and oxen. The palace of the Tala-lama (from *tala*, "sea;"—M. Huc says Dalai Lama is a thoroughly incorrect epithet) is built on a conical mountain, called Budha-lha 布達拉. The palace is made up of a number of Buddhist temples, the central one of which rises up to a height of four stories, and is surmounted by a dome, covered with gold, and surrounded by a peristyle, the columns of which are also gilt. A double avenue of trees leads from H'lassa to Budha-lha, and is at all times crowded with pilgrims.

The population of H'lassa is composed of Tibetans, Pabuns, Katchis, and Chinese. The Tibetans are Mongols, of short stature, who unite the agility of the Chinese to the strength of Tartars. The so called Pabuns are Hindus, from beyond the Himalaya; they are workers in metal. The Katchi are Cashmerian Mussulmen. They have a governor of their own at H'lassa, where they are the richest merchants and shopkeepers. They keep up a constant intercourse between H'lassa and Calcutta. The Chinese at H'lassa are few in number, and are either soldiers or government *employés*.

Unfortunately, our missionaries resembled none of these, and they were consequently subjected to so much annoying curiosity, that they took the fatal measure of reporting themselves to the Chinese police as "Frenchmen who had come to Tibet to preach there the Christian religion." They were not long, in consequence, in being summoned before a regent, who at that time ruled in the place of the usual Chaberon, or incarnation of lama, who was a minor; as also before the Chinese plenipotentiary, Kishen, the same who signed the treaty of peace with Elliot in 1841. The Tibetan regent was liberal and

kind towards the missionaries, and disposed to favor them; and Kíshen was passingly forbearing to the intruders in the "Eternal Sanctuary;" but their departure was not the less mildly but resolutely insisted upon. Everything was done to render their return less irksome than their journey thither. A guard of Chinese soldiers was appointed to protect them, and they had even charge of some of the plenipotentary's effects.

M. Huc collected in H'lassa some hearsays with regard to Moorcroft, which differ from what has hitherto been received. The sum of these reports was, that that celebrated traveler had dwelt for twelve years in the capital of Tibet without being discovered; that at the expiration of that period he started on his way back by Ladak, but that he was attacked by robbers in the province of Ngari, and put to death.

The theological information collected by the missionaries was, from the peculiar position they were placed in, of small import. It is not, however, without interest to find them ingeniously advocating the cosmopolitanism of the religious dogmas of the extreme East. The learned, they say, worship only one and sole Sovereign, who created all things, who is without beginning and end. In India he is called Budha; in Tibet, Samtse Mitchaba; in China, Fuh; and among the Tartars, Borhan. The incarnation of the Godhead in the Tala-lama of H'lassa, the Bantchen of Teshu-h'lumbu, the Tsong-kaba of Sifau, the Kaldan of Tolon-nor, the Guison Tamba of the Grand Kurun, the Hobilgan of the Blue City, the Hototan of Peking, and the innumerable other Chabérons, or incarnations, to be met with in different lamazaries, or monasteries, in China and Tibet, no more affect the dogma of one Godhead than the other numerous superstitions which corrupt the popular mind do the fundamental truths of a purely spiritual religion. Our worthy missionaries went even further than this; they on several occasions assert their belief that in many of the cheats practiced by the lamas, as, for example, cutting open the abdomen of a living lama, and depositing the contents on the altar, that the devil himself plays a part. "*Nous ne pensons nullement qu'on puisse toujours mettre sur le compte de la supercherie les faits de ce genre; car d'après tout ce que nous avons vu et entendu, parmi les nations idolâtres, nous sommes persuadés que le démon y joue un grand rôle.*" It is not very complimentary to the founder of the apostolic vicarage of all Mongolia, that they also devote many pages of research to what they call *les nombreuses et frappantes analogies qui existent entre les rites lamaresques et le culte Catholique.* Rome and H'lassa, the Pope and

the Tala-lama, have, they tell us, affinities that are replete with interest. Strange matter for philosophical reflection, affinities between forms of priestcraft so geographically removed from one another!

The missionaries were ultimately expelled from H'lassa on the 15th of March, 1846, and they traveled for several days along a fertile valley, dotted with Tibetan farms. The chain called Lumma Ri, having a pass of easy ascent, separated this valley from the town of Jiamba; it was, however, still enveloped in snow. Jiamba, 江達 where they were detained two days, is a commercial and populous city, with two Buddhist temples of colossal proportions. The missionaries, it is to be observed, were now traveling under the protection of a Chinese mandarin of the first class, Lí Kwoh-ngan 李國安, "Pacifactor of Kingdoms," and of the lama Jiamchang, or "the Musician," besides an escort; and although, at almost every town and every village, some excuses for delay and loitering were easily found, more especially in the uncertain supply of horses and oxen for the caravan, still, a comfortable room, a large fire of argols, and abundance of provision, made a very different thing of the return to what the journey to H'lassa had been. The only drawbacks were, the severe climate of Tibet, the rude mountains and rapid torrents, and the variable weather. Many an impetuous torrent had to be passed by a frail bridge of unhewn pine-trees, not even lashed together. The fourth day from Jiamba, they passed a great lake on the ice, concerning which, a Chinese "Itinerary," which was originally translated by the Russian missionary, Father Hyacinthe, and published, with notes by Klapproth, in the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique," 1^{re} serie, tomes 4 and 6, says that the unicorn is met with in the neighborhood. The animal here alluded to appears to be a species of antelope, analogous to the animal obtained by Mr. Hodgson from Nípál, and called by Dr. Abel, *Antelope Hodgsonii*. Beyond this, a rugged and rocky chain, with rude glaciers and vast accumulations of snow, had to be crossed. This was the H'la-ri, or "Mountain of Spirits." The ascent was effected on foot, holding hard by the horses' tails; the descent, by slipping down a glacier, which the oxen and horses did on their four feet, rolling over and over as they reached the snowy basis; the men, lamas, mandarins, and missionaries effected the descent in a far less dignified posture. Such a pass necessitated a day's rest at the post of H'larí where they were entertained in a Chinese temple called Kwán-tí Miáu, dedicated to the God of War.

The arrival at H'larí 拉里 furnished materials for a sketch of Chinese life, such as, considering the intimacy of the missionaries

with the language and manners of the people, are but scantily carried through this voluminous work :—

The day after our arrival at H'la-ri, the liáng-tái, or provisioner-general, instead of coming to salute officially the staff of the caravan, contented himself with sending us, as a visit card, a sheet of red paper, upon which were inscribed the characters of his name; and he had intimated by his messenger that a serious sickness detained him in his *appartement*. Lí Kwoh-ngan said to us, in a low voice, and with a meaning smile, "The liáng-tái will be quite well when we are gone." As soon as we were alone, he exclaimed, "Ah! I expected this; whenever a caravan passes the liáng-tái Sz' (the name of the mandarin) is very ill; it is a fact known to every one. According to custom, he should have prepared for us a first-class repast, and it is to avoid doing this that he pretends to be ill. The liáng-tái Sz' is the most miserly man known; he is always dressed like a palanquin-bearer; he eats tsamba like a barbarian of Tibet; he never smokes, he never plays, he never drinks wine; in the evening his house is not lit up; he goes to bed feeling his way there, and rises late in the morning for fear that he should be hungry too early. Oh! a man like that is not a man, he is mere turtle's egg. The ambassador, Kíshen, wishes to displace him, and he will do well. Have you in your country liáng-tái of that kind?" "What a question! the liáng-tái of the kingdom of France never go to bed without a candle; and when great men present themselves, they never fail to make ready a good dinner." "Ah! that is it; such is the right proceeding! but this Sz' mu-chu"—at these words we could not help bursting out into a laugh. "Ah!" said the mandarin, "that name appears to you ridiculous. You do not know why the liáng-tái Sz' is called Sz'-mu-chu; it is in reference to a curious anecdote. The liáng-tái Sz', before he was sent to H'la-ri, exercised the duties of a small mandarin in a little district of the province of Kiáng-sí. One day two men of the people presented themselves before him and begged that he would sit in judgment in regard to a trout, to which they each laid claim. The judge, Sz' thus pronounced his verdict—'Having separated the truth from falsehood, I see clearly that this trout is neither thine nor mine; I declare then that it belongs to me. Let my verdict be respected.' The satellites of the tribunal went and took possession of the trout, and the judge had it sold at the neighboring market. Ever since then the mandarin, Sz', is called everywhere Sz'-mu-chu, that is to say, Sz', the trout."

Crossing another lake on the ice, they lodged at the thermal waters of Tsa-tchu-ka, and next day passed the Chor-ku-la, 昂古里 almost as difficult as the H'la-ri, and beyond which was an extensive upland, cut up here and there by ravines and gullies, which looked like so many dark and frightful abysses. Some of these had to be crossed by the usual pine-tree bridges. The caravan arrived, however, at Alan-lo with the loss of only three oxen. Hence they descended by a pine-forest to Lank-ki Tsung, a village of wooden houses, the situation of which, after a long mountain journey, appeared extremely beautiful. A pass—that of Tanda, more difficult than any they had yet met with—still lay before them. Detained at the forest village for some days, they fed heartily on venison, pheasants, fresh butter, and a sweet tuberculous root—a kind of truffle—dug out of the mountain sides. The fare was not bad, but possibly monotonous. The rest of the time was spent in prayer, and playing at chess, which the Tartars play as is done in Europe, but the Chinese differently. They say *chik* for *check*, and *mat* for *mate*. The mountain of Tanda was passed, after

three days' repose, with the loss of only a donkey. Beyond was the plain called Pian-pa, and then another mountain-chain called Jak-la; and beyond this again the little town of Chobando 碩般多, the houses and temples of which, being painted with red ochre, gave to it an agreeable aspect. Two days from Chobando, the Suk-chu' was ferried across, the bridge of pines having given way a few days before, and caused the death of two men and three oxen. Beyond this was the lake and upland of Wa Ho, the former guarded by an enormous toad, that no one has seen but many heard, and which imaginary reptile is venerated as the spirit of the place. The bright sun shining upon the snows of the elevated upland, affected almost the whole of the party with violent inflammation of the eyes, which was for some time the cause of much suffering. Three fatiguing journeys remained to be traveled over, and many of the detestable wooden bridges to be crossed, ere they reached Tsiando, 250 leagues from H'lassa, a distance which they had taken thirty-six days to travel.

Tsiando 察木多, capital of the province of Kham 康, is a Chinese military station, situated at the junction of two rivers, and surrounded by mountains. The town is composed of large houses irregularly built and falling into ruins; the population look poor and dirty, but, as usual, there is a "magnificent" lamazary attached to the town, in which two thousand idlers live upon the superstitions of their more industrious fellow-creatures.

After three days' repose, the party once more started across mountain and along river, and over Tibetan bridges—the horror of all Tibetan travelers—being often, in the hyperbolic language of the East, suspended in the clouds. As they approached Bagung, the granitic districts of Upper Tibet were succeeded by a limestone country, in the midst of which a mountain, abounding with large caves, particularly attracted their attention. Bagung is described as a mere village with a Chinese guard-house. The people of the village, were, however, the first who refused to supply the caravan gratuitously. The authority of the "Pacifcator of Kingdoms" was totally disregarded by these independent mountaineers. They were further abetted in this contumacious disposition by Prul-tamba, the chief of the province, who was at that time in open rebellion with the Chinese. The party paid a visit to this mountain-chieftain, whose abode is described as resembling a feudal castle of the middle ages, with ditch and pont-levis.

At the next station, Gaya, the Chinese officials were equally refused food and transport without payment. At the station beyond this, Angti by name, they were detained five days by the illness of the manda-

rin, whose legs had swollen from the fatigues of the journey, and were daily getting worse. The governor of Angti is described as being three feet in height, and carrying a sword twice as long as himself! Bomba, as this Tibet mountain-chief was called, was, however, a man of rare eloquence, great courage, and both powerful and respected. Like most Tibetan mountaineers in this part of the country, he at once detested and despised the Chinese.

Beyond Angti was another rude mountain, with its usual *obo*, or cairn, and local genius or spirit, which, when not a gigantic reptile, is a red horse or a white horseman, or some other fantastic goblin, only to be seen by the privileged few. Beyond this mountain was the town and district of Jaya, 乍丫 inhabited by bold mountaineers, who despise the yoke of the Chinese, and are perpetually rebelling against it. On their way beyond this, they overtook a caravan, the conductors of which—two mandarins, father and son—had perished on the way, and according to custom, the bodies had to be conveyed to the ancestral tomb; to facilitate progress, the body of the son was cut into four parts. The district of Sha-pan-ku 石板溪 is so called from its slate quarries, and its woods of pine, cedar, and cypress are said to be more frequented than any part of Tibet by musk-deer. At length, at Kiang-tsa, 江卡 they came into countries where the Chinese rule was better established, and the sick, yet avaricious mandarin was not mulcted of his money at every stage. The soil now, also, kept always lowering, the mountain chains were less lofty, the valleys widened, and became either more woody or cultivated. The magnificent Kinsha Kiang, or river of Golden Sands, occupied the central valley of all. It had here, however, to force its way through frequent narrow passes, and to roll over lofty precipices, carrying with it large masses of ice. At one station, by the banks of this great river, they had exquisite fish for supper, a room impervious to wind, and skins of musk-deer for beds—all luxuries for a long time unknown to our poor missionaries. Still more delighted were they when, crossing a range of hills, the splendid valley of Bathang 巴塘, "Plain of Cows," lay before them. This great plain, which is met with, as if by enchantment, amidst the Tibetan mountains, has a beautiful climate, and is wondrously fertile; giving two harvests of rice, maize, wheat, barley, peas, cabbages, turnips, onions, &c., &c., every year. The town itself is large and populous; lamas and Chinese are numerous, and there is also a Chinese garrison. The temporal power of the Tala-lama of H'lassa does not extend beyond this point. Beyond, the country is

governed by vassal chieftains, called *tú-sz'* 土司. The chief temple at Bathang is called B', or Pa. The caravan was most hospitably received at this city, but the "Pacifcator of Kingdoms" was getting daily worse, and the missionaries labored hard, upon his approaching decease, to convert him to the Christian faith, but without success.

The beautiful and warm plain of Bathang had, after a rest of three days, to be again exchanged for cold mountain districts, varied with forest scenery. In these forests, the common holly attained the size of a great tree. The mandarin Lí Kwoh-ngan expired on the third day's journey, at a picturesque little village called Samba. The missionaries deeply regretted the loss of their conductor. His body was wrapped up in a white cloth, covered with sentences and images of Badha, and duly coffined. Thus, the next day, the caravan took its departure with three corpses. The chief being dead, the monarchical form of government was succeeded by a democratic republic—a form of government so perfect, that the Chinese and Tibetans did not seem to be at all prepared for it, and everything went wrong, and all order was succeeded by a complete anarchy.

After three days' journey, they luckily arrived at Lí-t'áng 稟塘, or the "Place of Copper," where a new mandarin was appointed to the government of the caravan; and at T'a-t sien-lú 打箭爐, "the Place of Arrows," they at length reached the Chinese frontier, having been three months on the journey from H'plassa.* They parted here with their guard of Tibetans with many tears. These good mountaineers had shown them every attention and kindness during a long and trying journey.

The next day, their legs being swollen and bruised by travel, they got into sedans, in which they were carried at the public expense to the capital of the province of Sz'chuen, where they were to be solemnly tried by the magistrates of the Celestial empire. The verdict of the mandarins is not recorded by M. Huc; but the result is manifest in the fact, that after a few months of unrecorded travel across

* [Bathang, or Pátang, is the post in the southwestern part of Sz'chuen, where the trade between China and Tibet centres; but why M. Huc calls it the "Plain of Cows" does not appear, for that is not the meaning of the characters employed by the Chinese to write the name of the town, any more than "Place of Copper" is the signification of Í íng, the next town the travelers came to. The power of the Chinese government over the mountaineers in this region is probably exercised only so far as they are willing, or whenever it is for their advantage in their feuds against other tribes. The imperial map extends the boundary of Sz'chuen as far west as Bataug.]

China, the worthy missionaries arrived at Macao in the month of October, 1846. Their return to contact with Europeans was not rendered the less interesting by the report of their deaths, which had for some time previously been in circulation in the East, and in the geographical journals of this country. The missionaries appear to have traced the report originally to the *Bengal Catholic Herald*, published at Calcutta; and which, in an article purported to be derived from Canton, by date September 12, stated that two unfortunate French Lazarists, who had mastered the Mongol language by studying under the lamas of native monasteries, had ventured into the interior, but had been detected in the remote regions of Mongolian Tartary, and had been tied to horses' tails and dragged to death. Happily, the missionaries were spared to give to the world the very curious work of which we have given an epitome.

ART. III. *Resumé of the principal occurrences in China during the year 1850.*

Oct. 23d, 1849. Mingteh, a member of the Imperial House is degraded and banished to Tsitsihar from Moukden, for forcibly stopping some saltpetre belonging to government, imprisoning the people in charge, and detaining the whole for a ransom.

The military resident of Tarbagatai in Ili sends in an estimate of 55,000 taels as the expenditures needed for the coming year.

Gov.-gen. Sü Kwángtsin and his colleague request his majesty's permission to appoint an intendent of circuit over the two departments of Luichau and K'ungchau in the southwest of this province, to keep a better oversight and defense of the coasts against pirates.

29th. His Majesty's son-in-law is deputed to sacrifice to certain cannon, and seven other offices are designated to sacrifice to some "red-coated" cannon.

Luh Kienying, the gov.-general of the Two Kiáng reports the collection and expenditure of 524,000 taels to relieve the distress in two departments in Kiángsú, caused mostly, it appears, by the overflow of the Yangtsez' kiáng.

The sum of 72,974 taels is ordered to be forwarded to Oroumsi from Kánsuh for the current expenses of the coming year.

A decree is issued promoting several officers in Chehkiáng for their success in destroying pirates; the memorial states their efforts "are not like those empty statements of innumerable pirates attacked and sunk, all which are stories colored and glossed over."

Nov. 2d. Teh-tang-ngeh, commissary-general for three years in H'lari in Anterior Tibet, is recommended for promotion.

Dec. 3d. MM. de Montigny and Klezkowski beat off a piratical junk in their passage across the bay of Hángchau, saving many lives and a large amount of property.

19th. All business is stopped in the market-town of Shih-lung, east of the Bogue, by the appearance of a body of vagabonds, two leaders of which were seized.

Jan. 1, 1850. The Government of Hongkong publish her Majesty's letters patent, dated May 1, 1849, ordaining the town of Victoria to be called the City of Victoria, and erecting the island of Hongkong and its dependencies into the Bishopric of Victoria.—See page 56.

8th. Mr. William F. Gray dies at Hongkong in consequence of a fall from his horse.

8th. An Ordinance passed by the government of Hongkong, defining and extending the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over British subjects in and out of the colony.

15th. An ordinance passed in Hongkong for the better administration of justice in criminal proceedings before the Supreme Court.

15th. The gov.-general is requested to order some of the Fuhkien traders who have lingered at Macao, instead of moving their establishments to Whan-poa, to leave that settlement. These traders were engrossing more of the traffic than their share, but the whole movement of Sü in ordering these merchants to remove has entailed considerable loss upon them.

Posthumous honors are bestowed upon the celebrated statesman Yuen Yuen, who died Nov. 26th, aged 88.

23d. The Empress-dowager departed this life, aged over 80 years. She was not the mother of Taukwang. See page 110.

Feb. 10th. The troop-ship Apollo with the headquarters of the 59th regiment arrived at Hongkong under the command of Lieut.-col. Trevor. Total landed, 560 persons.

13th. Eleventh annual meeting of the Morrison Education Society held at Hongkong.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Members of the Morrison Education Society, held within the Library of the Club House, Hongkong, February 13, 1850.—Present, Lieut.-colonel Phillpotts, A. Campbell, T. W. L. Mackean, C. B. Hillier, T. D. Neave, D. Jardine, P. Dudgeon, A. Shortrede, W. Davidson, D. Fletcher, A. H. Balfour, R. P. Dana, S. J. Hallam, and S. W. Williams.

Mr Campbell, the senior Vice-president, took the chair, and after stating the business to be brought before the meeting, called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read the annual report. The report was then read. The Treasurer's report was next presented, from which it appeared that there was a balance of \$2157.10 due the treasurer by the Society. A lengthened discussion having arisen among the members as to the present position of the fund, it was moved by Mr Dana, and seconded by Dr Balfour,—“That a Committee be appointed to confer with the chairman of the meeting of subscribers to the ‘Morrison Testimonial Fund’ held in Canton, July 18, 1849, in order to come to an amicable arrangement.” Mr Jardine moved the following as a substitute to the proposition, which was seconded by Mr Hillier,—“Resolved, with reference to the meeting of subscribers to the ‘Morrison Testimonial Fund’ held in Hongkong, January 10, 1846, investing the sum of \$12,000 with Messrs Dent & Co. at interest as a permanent fund for the benefit of the Morrison Education Society, for the period of three years, that period having now elapsed, this meeting request and authorize Messrs Dent & Co. to continue the possession of that fund, and to continue to pay the interest to the Trustees, to be employed by them for the purpose of the Society as heretofore, until the next annual meeting.”

On the Resolution being read, the previous one was withdrawn, and the following offered as an amendment by Mr Shortrede, seconded by Mr Neave,—“That it appears to this meeting highly expedient to ascertain if the fund, commonly called the ‘Morrison Testimonial Fund,’ or any part thereof, whether principal or interest, can be applied to the payment of the debt due to the Treasurer of the Morrison Education Society, or what authority the Trustees have over it; and with this view request Messrs Dent & Co., in concert with the Trustees of the said Society, to enter into an amicable suit before the Chief-Justice, in order to settle the question of property in the fund,—the expense of conducting the said suit not to exceed two hundred dollars, without the sanction of another general meeting.”

On taking the votes for the amendment, there appeared *Ayes* 4,—Shortrede, Neave, Hallam, Balfour. *Noes* 8,—Jardine, Mackean, Davidson, Williams, Hillier, Phillpotts, Dana, Fletcher. The original Resolution was then carried *Ayes* 8, *Noes* 4.

Moved by Lieut-colonel Phillpotts, seconded by Mr Williams, and carried unanimously,—“That the Trustees be empowered to take such measures in relation to the preservation and occupation of the Society’s house on Morrison Hill, as shall be compatible with the designs of this Society in promoting education among the Chinese, the necessary expense to be defrayed by the Society.” The officers for the ensuing year were then elected by ballot, as follows:—

President.—Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D.D.

Vice-presidents.—Archibald Campbell, Esq; Lieut-col. G. Phillpotts; and Walter Davidson, Esq.

Treasurer.—David Jardine, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.—S. W. Williams, Esq.

Recording Secretary.—C. B. Hillier, Esq.

Auditors.—Charles J. F. Stuart, Esq; and Andrew H. Balfour, Esq. M.D.

The meeting then adjourned.

21st. At attack made on Mr. Reynvaan at Canton by one of his coolies.—*See page 112.*

23d. H. B. M. screw-sloop Reynard destroys two piratical boats near Hongkong, and captures 15 men.

25th. H. I. M. Tánkwang departed this life, and was succeeded on the same day by his fourth son Yihchú.—*See p. 165.*

Yen Ingán, acting superintendant of the Yellow river is raised to the second rank and confirmed in his appointment, for his exertions in preventing an inundation by his careful oversight of the embankments and floodgates; he is also requested to recommend the more zealous and deserving of his subordinates, and “as the river has not overflowed its banks up to the end of October, he is to burn ten sticks of Tibetan incense, which will be issued to him, in the temple of the Spirit of the Stream.”

March 4th. H. M. Str. Medea attacks a fleet of pirates in Mir’s bay, and totally disperses them.—*See page 163.*

6th. The Court of the Imperial Guard advised the Crown that the chair of the late emperor was to be burned; a quantity of garments for the use of the departed in Hades had already been burned.

19th. Dedication of Seamen’s Bethel at Whampoa. *See page 168.*

20th. Ordinance passed in Hongkong for the more effective carrying out of the treaties between Great Britain and China in so far as relates to Chinese settlers in the colony.

20th. Ordinance passed in Hongkong to regulate the jurisdiction of magistrates and courts of session in Hongkong over offenses committed without the colony by British subjects.

26th. The Board of Rites, in a reply to the Throne, respecting the obsequies of the late emperor, state that his late Majesty’s will contained directions, “1st. that no stone tablet commemorating his merits and virtues should be erected; 2d, touching various matters to be considered; 3d, that he should not be sacrificed to with Heaven and Earth; 4th, that his ancestral tablet of wood should not be placed in the state temple of his predecessors.” His son wished to obey the first two, but hesitated respecting the last two, while the Board urge him not to obey the first direction.

29th. Rt. Rev. George Smith, D. D. Bishop of Victoria, arrives at Hongkong. *See page 232.*

April. During the month an epidemic of a fatal character prevailed in Canton and its vicinity. *See pages 288, 313.*

May. The following notice of a Chinese official recalls the manner in which officers in European armies rise by purchase:—

Kiangsi.—The law requires that persons purchasing the rank of intendant or prefect should be proved for one year in the public service, and their qualifications reported on by the chief provincial authority. A Chinese of the bordered yellow Banner, in the service of the Imperial Household, having purchased a degree, next a clerkship in one of the Boards, and then the rank of sub-prefect, was sent to serve first in the Imperial demesnes, and then in *Kiangsi* in 1836. He lost a step, and was removed to another post in 1845, on account of the non-arrival of certain grain junks of which he had charge, but repurchased his places by subscribing in aid of the public distress in *Kiang-sü*; and from his deputy sub-prefectship rose by purchase to a sub-prefectship, and thence to a prefectship. His year of probation having expired since the day on which he had the good luck to be chosen for employment by lot out of those who arrived at the same time in the province, the said prefect, *Yuen-shen* by name, aged 51, is reported to be hale in body, and of great abilities, sure and experienced, diligent and clear-headed, and capable of taking charge of a difficult department. It is therefore proposed that he succeed to the first prefecture vacant by sickness, death, or discharge of the incumbent, at the disposal of the Board.—*China Mail*.

26th. H.E. P. A. da Cunha, governor of Macao, &c., arrives.—See page 344.

June 7th. The English ship "Elizabeth Ainslie" burnt at her anchors in Cumsing moon anchorage; most of her cargo was consumed or spoiled. A *lorcha* left in charge of the wreck was the next night attacked by pirates, and a Mr. Richard Hopwood killed.

13th. The str. *Reynard* visits the Great Wall, and makes an examination of it at *Shán-hái-kwán*, as given in the following communication:—

This stupendous work of human labor has its eastern termination on the shore of the Gulf of *Liáutung*, about 120 miles north of the *Pei ho*, in lat. 40° 4' N., long. 120° 2' E. Viewed from the water, the terminus appears to consist of a fortress some 300 yards in length, having a large gateway in the southern face, close outside of which, and between it and the sea, is a permanent joss-house, or temple, while the northern end is surmounted by a modern two-storied guard-house; immediately beneath, the Wall projects seaward.

At 10 A.M., we landed a large party to the right of the joss-house on a steep sandy beach, and were civilly received by a white-buttoned mandarin and a small party of soldiers, who informed us we were perfectly at liberty to inspect the Wall at our leisure. We therefore soon ascended to it by a broad inclined plane outside the fort, and found ourselves on a rectangular platform, about sixty feet in length, paved with dark blue-colored bricks. This portion of the structure, from its apparent age and condition, seems to have been the original terminus of the main wall; while, owing probably to the receding of the water, the beforementioned lower continuation projecting seaward—now a mass of ruins half buried in the sand—appears a less durable construction, of much later date.

The first objects that arrested our attention on the platform were three monumental slabs of black marble—two standing close to the wall, the third removed from its base: a curiously-carved altar-shaped pedestal lay extended on the ground. On one of the standing slabs is deeply inscribed the sentence, "Heaven created earth and sea;" and on the other, "Only a spoonful."* The import of this latter sentence we were at a loss to conjecture: it may have had reference to the placid waters of the Gulf of *Liáutung*; or, perhaps is intended as an allusion to the nothingness of this vast structure when compared with the works of creation. The fallen monument, having a very long inscription, we left to be deciphered on our return from the survey of the wall, which we could no longer delay.

Ascending again by a broad flight of steps from the platform to the top of the fort, we walked past the guard-house (a dilapidated building) down another

天開海岳 一勺之多

*[The sentences 天開海岳 and 一勺之多 are given in the drawings accompanying this account; the latter is a quotation from the *Chung Yung*, and means that the sea is "only a handful," and taken in connection with the first, that "heaven created (or spread out) the sea and the mountains," may allude to the surrounding prospect of sea and land. The whole sentence is, "The waters, though they are (or appear like) only a handful, are yet unfathomable, and the turtle, the crocodile, the dragon, and other monsters dwell in them."—*Ed. Chi. Rep.*]

shorter inclined plane, and then along the Wall, which we found, for about eight hundred yards, in a very ruinous condition, the first part of it being little better than an embankment of sand, broken at intervals by projecting masses of ruined brickwork.

At half a mile's distance from the fort, however, the Wall commences to show a better state of preservation: here we found it measure 39 feet across; the platform was covered with mold, and variegated with flowers of every hue. The Wall on the Tartar side, at this point, shows a fine well-built foundation of hewn granite, surmounted by a slanting brick facing, measuring together 35 feet in height; above this is a brick parapet, 7 feet high and 18 inches thick, divided by small embrasures at irregular intervals, from 8 to 13 feet apart.

At intervals, varying in distance from 200 to 500 yards, the Wall is flanked, on the Tartar side, by towers of brick, 45 feet square and 52 feet high. The one we examined was entered from the Wall by an arched granite doorway, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad. The construction of this arch is most remarkable, for the Chinese have long ceased to use key-stones in their arches. A flight of steps to the right, within the doorway, leads up to the flat roof of the tower, which is surrounded by a parapet like that upon the Wall. The body of the tower is intersected at right angles by low arched vaults, each terminating in an embrasure, of which there are three on each outer face. From the construction of these vaults, they seem to have been built for archers and spearmen, and not for any kind of artillery; there was no vestige of a parapet on the Chinese side of the Wall, except on the low towers on this face, which intervene midway between those on the outer, but are not vaulted.

From this tower, which is the second inland, the wall continues apparently more or less in a ruined state for about three miles in a N N.W. direction, over a fine undulating country. It then takes a sudden curve to the S.W., passing near a large town called Shan-hái-wei. Thence it ascends directly up a bleak rugged range of mountains, about 3000 feet in height, creeping up the side like a gigantic serpent, and disappearing over the summit of the ridge.

The general features of the country about the Wall are very pleasing; the land, rising slowly from the sea up to the foot of the mountain range, is well wooded, and apparently densely populated on the Chinese side. On the Tartar side it undulates gently away into the distance, and appears rich and well cultivated, and dotted here and there with villages, the houses of which have roofs exactly similar in shape to those of our omnibuses at home. The only gate through the wall in this district is about three miles inland, and is called the Shán-hái Kwán. This we intended visiting, had not the mandarins prevented us. We observed, while loitering about the Wall, troops of mounted Chinese galloping out from the interior in the direction of the fort; but, supposing they were only hastening to have a view of us before we left, we took no further notice of them. Before, however, we had proceeded more than one mile and a half inland, three mandarins overtook us, and informed us that the Tú-tung, or General in command at Shán-hái-wei, had come down to the fort, and that it was his wish we should proceed no further. We accordingly descended from the Wall, and returned through the fields to the terminus. Here we found the General and a numerous suite assembled, with a crowd of mandarins and soldiers; and the bustle and confusion occasioned by their presence unfortunately prevented our taking a copy of the inscription on the third tablet, which, there is little doubt, would have afforded much interesting information. But we were thankful to have seen as much as we did; for had the General arrived a couple of hours earlier, our landing at all would have been doubtful. We returned to our boats, therefore, satisfied with the result of the expedition, having, perhaps, seen more of this portion of the Wall than any European before us; and, as all this part of China is still by treaty a sealed country, it may be years before another Englishman enjoys the same privilege. At three p.m., the anchor was weighed; and before dark the Great Wall of China had faded from our view.—*Illustrated London News*, Oct. 5th.

An unsuccessful effort made by Howqua and others formerly belonging to the Co-hong to reëstablish the monopoly in the sale of teas.—*See page 406.*

July 2d. An imperial decree relating to the visit of the Str. Reynard to the Pei ho is issued:—

“We have had the honor to receive the following Imperial decree. Officers of the establishment of this realm have each of them a particular sphere of duty; [on matters beyond it] they have no power to speak, as it is highly irregular; nor may they move therein, for it produces confusion. It was from the liberality of this Government, and from the extreme inclination of His Majesty the late Emperor to love his people and to foster the stranger, the permission to trade was accorded to these barbarians; and they should have shown the fervor of their tranquillity. In coming therefore as they have now done, to Tientsin, and openly transmitting letters to ministers of the Cabinet, they have been guilty of extreme disrespect and irregularity, and We command that no answer be returned to them, and that the whole occurrence be left unnoticed, as if it had never taken place. And seeing that if it be noised abroad, memorials will be sent up express from all the places passed by the barbarians, and [messengers from] Kwangtung, Fukkien, Chehkiang, Kiangsi, Shantung, Tientsin, and all the coast line will be fainting on the road,—much against the dignity (of the state); and as it is moreover said in the Record of Observances, that public servants have no intercourse with foreigners, it would be for these reasons still less proper that the Cabinet ministers in question should open the way to disrespectful courses by acknowledging the letter. As Sü Kwangtsin, the Governor-general of the Two Kwang, manages matters satisfactorily, and is thoroughly acquainted with the devilish malice of the hearts of these barbarians, and as Kwangtung is withal the natural channel of their (communications), We command that all business of these barbarians be henceforward referred to Sü Kwangtsin for administration, and that none of the Governor-generals or Governors along the coast be so irregular as to speak of the same, or so disorderly as to meddle with it; and We command that this law be made public as one to be observed for ever. Respect this!”—*China Mail.*

6th. H. E. the governor of Macao dies of cholera. See page 404.

8th. The roof of Trinity church at Shánghái fell in during the night.—See page 464.

17th. H. E. Gov. Bonham and suite return from their visit to Shánghái in the “Reynard.” See page 403.

30th. A gale of some severity is felt along the coast at the embouchure of the Pearl river.

The Nánhái hien tells the people that only the gentry and literati are authorized to give information against robbers, and warns any who shall wreak their vengeance upon any, under pretense that they are in the exercise of such a duty, that they shall be most severely dealt with.

Their Excellencies, the gov.-general and fuyuen, issue an “affectionate” proclamation to all pirates who had not tendered their submission “to wash their hearts and flay their faces, to show respectful obedience to the laws, and pursue their avocations in peace.”

August. Bodies of banditti, which have been troublesome in Kwángsi, begin to make head against the authorities, and also to come into the western departments of Kwángtung.—See page 462.

Rewards offered by the two district magistrates of Canton for the apprehension of parties concerned in the desecration of graves, an outrage recently committed on the north of the city; these miscreants, or “hill dogs” as they are called, had also been in the habit of extorting money from funerals.

Aug. 8th. The prefect of Kiánging chau issues a remarkable document against Christianity.—See page 566.

Rev. Mr. Le Turdu seized by the prefect of Kiánging chau in this province, and imprisoned; he was soon after sent to Canton and liberated.

Sept. At the end of this month, the sickness in the British troops at Hongkong, which had carried off in all 120 soldiers during 5 months, had nearly disappeared.

10th. An ordinance passed by the government of Hongkong to enable the Trustees of the Church to raise a sum of money not exceeding \$2000.

Sept. 29th. The English brig Good Success, manned by Chinese sailors, while at anchor in the harbor of Tai-ho to the southwest of Macao, refitting and procuring water, was boarded by pirates and robbed to the extent of \$12,000; the local officer offered the supercargo, also a Chinese, \$70, if he

would report the piracy to have been committed at sea. Three Portuguese lorchas arrived there some ten days after, and took possession of the vessel against the wish of the supercargo, who wished to put her under British protection, and have her taken to Hongkong by the P. and O. Co.'s Str. Canton, which had also come into the harbor in search of the missing vessel Rustomjee Cowasjee.

Oct. 6th. The French ship *Albert* returns to Hongkong, the Chinese passengers having killed Capt. Page on the way to Liuna, and robbed the ship. About 40 of them were apprehended.

29th. The Portuguese 32 gun frigate *Dona Maria II^a* was blown up while lying at anchor in the Typa. The most probable cause assigned for this casualty is that the gunner did it, when he went to the magazine to procure some powder, in revenge for having been that day reprimanded by Capt. d'Assis e Silva, he having been heard to threaten revenge on some one. Over two hundred persons, including several Chinese workmen and boatmen were killed; of these 188 belonged to the ship. The body of the Captain was found, but scarcely any persons survived the explosion.

Sii and Yeh issue a memorial respecting the attack on the insurgents in the western part of this province.—*See page 619.*

Nov. 15th. Rev. C. Fast, a Swedish missionary at Fuhchau, killed near the outer anchorage in an attack on his boat.—*See page 624.*

25th. Senor Tomas Fleetwood, mercantile assstant at Amoy, drowned in the harbor.

The southwestern parts of the province are infested with bands of armed robbers, collected principally in the department of Lienchau fu, adjoining Cochinchina. The prefect of Kin chau sent troops to disperse them, who instead of attacking, fraternized with them; whereupon fresh levies were sent from Hainan and Luichau fu to the aid of the Lienchau prefect, which were also beaten, killed, and dispersed. Cholera broke out in Hainan during this and the preceding month, and raged to such a degree that the dead were left unburied, and the people fled from the villages.

Dec. 6th. Died at Canton, Rev. JAMES G. BRIDGMAN, æt. 30, a missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. in Canton. Mr. B. was a native of the town of Amherst, Mass., and a graduate of Amherst college. He reached China in Feb. 1844, and after pursuing his studies in Chinese and in divinity for a season, was ordained to the gospel ministry in Canton, May 31st, 1846. (*See Vol. XV. page 328.*) He had then completed a translation from Latin of Premare's *Notitia*, which was published the year following, as stated in Vol. XVI. page 266. In May, 1847, Mr. Bridgman took charge of the office of the Repository, and continued to supervise the publication of the numbers until Sept. 1848. Since that date he resided in Canton, engaged in usual missionary labors, and in studying the language. He also read works in theology. For the last six months, he had gradually withdrawn much from general society, and confined himself chiefly to his house. Those who saw most of him during the last few months, observed many symptoms indicating a disordered or wandering mind, but medical advice was not called in until Nov. 30th, when symptoms of cerebral affection were apparent. Measures were promptly adopted to relieve the congestion of the brain, yet the next morning, in a paroxysm of the disease, he attempted self-destruction. Reason was restored by the loss of blood, and he was conscious during the five days he survived. A post mortem examination showed a highly congested state of the brain. Mr. B. was highly respected by all who knew him for his consistent Christian character, kindness, and uniform gentleness of heart; and in his death the cause of missions has sustained no little loss.

17th. An ordinance published by the government of Hongkong to prevent the desertion of seamen belonging to foreign ships. Also one to regulate proceedings before justices of the peace.











